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# ACTIVE MINTS AND THE SURVIVAL OF NORMAN COINS

I.D. BROWN

## Introduction

THE two most characteristic features of Norman coins are their rarity and the periodic change in type which took place on average every two or three years. Norman coins are among the rarest substantive issues in the English series. Only the PAXS (William I Type 8) and Watford types (Stephen Type 1) are encountered with any frequency and these, between them, account for nearly 40% of the surviving specimens. They are represented by forty-five and forty-three pieces respectively out of the total of 244 Norman coins (not counting lots from hoards) listed in the first ninety-five Spink auction catalogues. Coins of the early part of Henry I's reign are notably rare, the same sales catalogues listing only twenty-nine specimens of the first twenty-four years of the reign (Types 1–13) (Table 1 Column C). A similar pattern is seen in the number of mints known to have been active; PAXS coins are recorded for sixty-five different mints and Watford coins for forty-six whereas for most types of Henry I fewer than twenty mints are known (Table 1 Column B).

An obvious (but incorrect) interpretation of these facts is that the PAXS and Watford types represent issues at least twenty times larger than those made during corresponding periods in the early and middle years of Henry's reign and that extra mints were opened to handle the load. Since coins in Norman times were mostly used for the payment of taxes, the payment of royal debts and for trade, increased requirements for coin by merchants or the royal treasury would be met by increasing the output of the major mints in merchant or royal cities such as London, Winchester or Lincoln, not by opening mints in distant parts of the country. The smaller mints were intended to provide for local needs which were likely to be modest and relatively constant.

We can assume that the frequent change of type was a fiscal device that enabled the king to collect licensing fees from the moneyers and maintain control over the currency. By requiring that taxes be paid in coin of the latest type, he would require the whole of the currency to be recoined with every type change. Even mints in remote areas would therefore have been active during each type. Since the volume of bullion in circulation would change only slowly with time, the size of each issue should not change much from one type to the next. Any fluctuations in output would be reflected in changes of output in the city mints. The output of the minor mints should remain small and relatively constant, but this is not the pattern suggested by the surviving coins.

How, then, can we account for coins of the PAXS and Watford types being twenty times more common than those of the early years of Henry I? The answer is to be found in the rate at which coins have survived rather than in the rate at which they were issued. There are two ways in which circulating coins can survive into modern times: coins may be lost casually, or hoards of coins may be hidden and not recovered. Casual losses of single pieces undoubtedly occurred, as indicated by the 139 single finds of Norman coins recorded in the Coin Register shown in Column D of Table 1, but if coins of each type circulated for an average of just over two years, the number of single finds of any one type recovered in the last two centuries will

*Acknowledgements:* I would like to thank Mark Blackburn for his help in drawing my attention to earlier work on the

Normans and to Marion Archibald for permission to use her tentative listing of the Wicklewood hoard.

TABLE 1: Analysis of surviving coins by type

A Type	B Mints known	C Sales	D	E Finds	F Estimated survival
			Single	Hoards	
William I					
1	36	14	1	200	60–200
2	43	15	3	1200 <sup>a</sup>	120–600
3	37	8	2	100	65–250
4	42	5	6	20	100–500
5	55	15	4	340 <sup>b</sup>	c.3000
6	34	5	1	80	55–180
7	41	5	12	20	90–500
8 PAXS	65	45	2	10000	?
William II					
1	47	6	3	140	200–1800
2	54	4	5	230 <sup>b</sup>	c.2500
3	48	8	4	140	200–1500
4	33	4	3	30	50–180
5	34	4	3	0	55–160
Henry I					
1	20	4 [35]	4 [6]	6	40–90
2	20	3 [23]	7 [8]	6	40–90
3	17	3 [17]	3 [4]	0	30–70
4	10	2 [7]	6 [8]	4	12–35
5	13	0 [8]	1 [2]	24	20–45
6	9	0 [9]	2 [2]	2	11–30
7	23	2 [44]	1 [4]	80	55–110
8	7	1 [7]	1 [2]	4	9–20
9	10	2 [14]	2 [2]	4	12–35
10	31	3 [35]	8 [16]	220	100–300
11	15	4 [17]	3 [9]	30	28–55
12	16	2 [10]	6 [5]	2	29–60
13	34	3 [45]	3 [7]	210	140–400
14	50	14 [204]	3 [3]	900	?
15	22	6 [227]	18 [26]	1000	c.2000
Stephen					
1 (Watford)	47	43	40	3000	?
2	18	7	8	200	100–500
4	18	1	5	150	100–500
7 (Awbridge)	36	6	18	60	120–500

## Notes on Table 1

Col. A. Coin Types according to Brook

Col. B. Number of mints recorded for the type

Col. C. Number of coins offered in Spink's Auctions numbers 1 to 95 excluding groups of coins from hoards [coins in *BMC* and *SCBI* for Henry I given in brackets]Col. D. Number of single finds recorded in the Coin Register (BNJ 57–60) [values given by Blackburn<sup>1</sup> in brackets]

Col. E. Estimate of the numbers of coins surviving in the hoards (see Table 4).

Col. F. Estimate of surviving coin based on the number of recorded mints and Figures 2 and 3.

a. Most of these hoards were concealed during the destruction of York in 1069 and contain between 30% and 50% of their coins from the York mint. These coins are not anticipated by the estimated survival.

b. There are, presumably, large unreported hoards for William I type 5 and William II type 2.

<sup>1</sup> M. Blackburn, 'Coinage and Currency under Henry I. A Review,' *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 13 (1991), 49–81.



be small, perhaps no more than twenty to 100 specimens in total.<sup>2</sup> Undoubtedly the largest number of surviving specimens come from hoards. It is no coincidence that the largest recorded Norman hoard, the Beauworth hoard, contained between 8000 and 12000 coins, almost all of William I's PAXS type.<sup>3</sup> It would be reasonable to suppose that the majority of the PAXS coins currently available to collectors comes from this hoard.

Since the system of regular recoinages appears to have ended with Henry I's purge of the moneyers in 1124 which is assumed to have terminated Type 14, it is necessary to treat the coinage before and after this date separately. During the earlier period the type was changed on average every 2.6 years under William I and II and every 1.7 years under Henry. After 1124 the pattern of regular recoinages was abandoned with Henry I's Type 15 and Stephen's Type 1 both being issued for periods of over ten years.

### Was the Whole Coinage Reissued at Every Type Change?

To demonstrate the hypothesis that the distribution of types in the surviving stock of Norman coins reflects the survival rate rather than the size of the original issue, it is first necessary to establish that the coins of one type were substantially recoinced as soon as the type was changed. If this were the case, we would expect Norman hoards to contain coins of only one type or possibly two types if the hoard had been deposited during the period when the previous type was being recoinced. Fortunately, it is easy to test this hypothesis by referring to the reports of coin hoards containing Norman coins. Of the thirty-four hoards from England and Wales known to have been deposited between 1066 and 1124, twelve are sufficiently large and listed in sufficient detail to provide useful statistics. Eight of these, listed in Table 2, have more than 89% of their coins from the latest two types.<sup>4</sup> Of the remaining four, Soberton, of which more later, has 72% of its coins of the latest two types. Only Wallbrook, Shillington and Corringham show a substantially different

TABLE 2: Number of Coins of the Last Two Types in Selected Hoards

<i>Name</i>	<i>Last Type</i>	<i>Penultimate Type</i>	<i>Earlier Types</i>	<i>Comment</i>
Rotherham	2	30	0	11 coins not recorded
Soberton	22	159 + 77	1	See text
York Bishopshill	42	5	0	About 10 coins not reported
Scaldwell	259	1?	0	Type of lone coin not identified
York Monksgate	30	42	1	2 coins not reported
Beauworth	6312	10	49	
Tamworth	167	97	30	
South Oxfordshire	18+	0	0	
Bournemouth	371	1	4	

For references see Table 4.

<sup>2</sup> The coin register has been a regular feature of the *British Numismatic Journal* since Vol.57. Over the eight years of Vols. 57 to 64 each type is represented on average by three to four single finds, or about 0.5 coins per type per year. Even though not all current finds are reported these are compensated for by the inclusion of a number of older finds. In earlier times when metal detectors were not available the rate would have been much lower than 0.5 coins, say around 0.25 coins or less per type per year. Until the late eighteenth century most finds

would have been treated as bullion. In the last two centuries, therefore, we might expect between twenty and 100 single finds per type to have found their way into the surviving coin stock, a figure that is consistent with the estimates given in Table 1.

<sup>3</sup> A bibliography of hoards mentioned in this paper is given in Table 4.

<sup>4</sup> At least another six hoards that are not reported in detail appear to follow the same pattern.

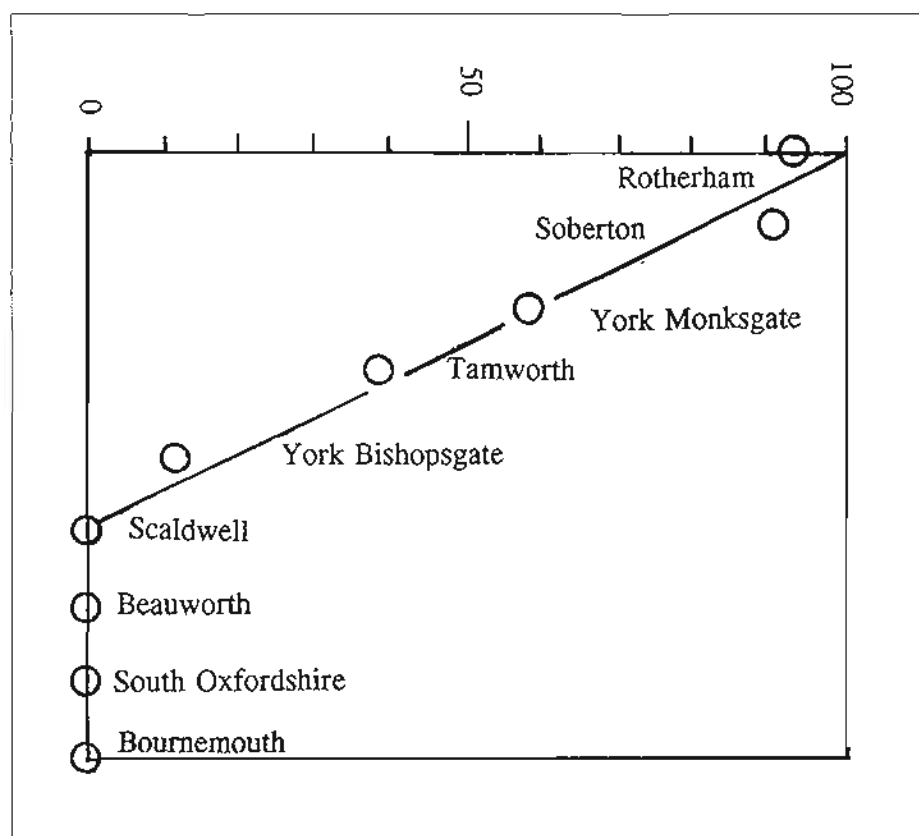


Fig. 1 Percentage of the penultimate type among the last two types present in nine hoards deposited between 1066 and 1124. Details are given in Table 2.

pattern, representing hoards that were probably accumulated over an extended period. Six of the seventeen post-1124 Norman hoards contain statistically useful information and all of these except the hoard from Lincoln (Malandry) appear to comprise only coins of the last two types, though since recoinages were much less frequent this is less surprising.

Thus the bulk of the coins found in over two thirds of the pre-1124 hoards come only from the two latest types and we can infer that earlier issues had been substantially withdrawn from circulation. It is then interesting to examine the relative proportions of coins of the last two types. Figure 1 plots, for the individual hoards deposited between 1066 and 1124, the ratio of the number of coins of the penultimate type to the total number of coins of the last two types present. Roughly half the hoards contain, apart from a scattering of pieces of earlier types, only coins of the current type. The other half contain varying amounts of coin of the penultimate type. If we assume that the deposit of hoards occurred randomly during the currency of the latest type present, Figure 1 suggests that the process of recoinage was substantially completed during the first half of the currency of each type, and therefore took between one and two years.

This model is nicely confirmed by the Soberton hoard which contains (apart from one earlier piece) 258 coins, 30% of them from the last type of Edward the Confessor, 61% of

Harold II and 8% of the first type of William I. This hoard shows that by the end of Harold's ten month reign, only two thirds of Edward's last type had been recoinced, suggesting that about fifteen months would be needed to complete the work. The small percentage of coins of William shows that the hoard must have been deposited late in 1066, shortly after William started issuing coins in his own name. Although few details are given, the hoard found in 1739 in Denge Marsh appears to have shown the same pattern.

Blackburn has listed foreign hoards containing coins of Henry I and these give a complementary picture.<sup>5</sup> Of the eight hoards with more than ten English coins, half, all from the Baltic,<sup>6</sup> cover a wide range of types, having fewer than 22% of their English coins from the last two types represented. The other half, mostly from France and Italy,<sup>7</sup> show a pattern similar to that found in the English hoards, having at least 84% of their English coins from the last two types. The pattern suggests that English coins circulated freely in the Baltic where they would not have been withdrawn at each type change, but elsewhere parcels of coins exported from England were kept intact until such time as they were recoinced into the local currency.

### Known Mints and Survival Rates

A testable consequence of the hypothesis that the present stock reflects the survival rate is that the number of known mints will depend on the coin survival rate. There were some sixty to seventy mints active at one time or another during the Norman period. Some, like those at London and the other large mercantile centres, employed several moneyers and produced a large volume of coin. Others, such as Launceston, had a single moneyer for whom coining would have been a part-time occupation. The output of the larger mints could, therefore, be as much as a hundred times that of a small mint. In the Beauworth hoard there were 777 PAXS coins (12% of the total) produced by eight different moneyers in London compared to only six coins (0.1% of the total) produced by Godric, the lone moneyer at Launceston. If these values are typical, one would expect to find a London coin in any hoard containing more than eight coins but one would need a hoard of 1000 coins before one would expect to find a coin of Launceston.<sup>8</sup> If the total number of surviving coins of a given type were less than 1000, there is a good chance that no coin of Launceston would be known and we might assume that its mint had been dormant during this period. Coins of Launceston are known for only seven of the thirty-two Norman types, which agrees well with the prediction (given in Table 1) that there are only about seven types with more than 1000 surviving specimens.

The number of mints represented in various parcels of coins is shown in Figures 2 and 3, each parcel being the coins of one type from a particular hoard. The parcels are identified in Table 3. Many hoards show a tendency to favour local mints, but most also have a good mixture of coins from mints across the country. Where one or more local mints are heavily overrepresented, these coins have been excluded from the parcel as noted in Table 3. The solid lines in the figures represent a fit to parcels of different periods and are drawn so as to show the expected behaviour for extremely large parcels (all mints included) and extremely small (each coin from a different mint). The exact shape of these curves cannot be predicted as they depend on the relative outputs of the mints. The larger the difference

<sup>5</sup> M. Blackburn, as in n. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Hallsarve (1942), Kohtla-Käva (1957), Kose (1982) and Burgu (1967).

<sup>7</sup> Bari (1891), Pré St Evroult (1910), Beauvais (1987) and Vaïda (1896).

<sup>8</sup> D.M. Metcalf has shown ('Notes on the 'PAXS' type of William I', *Yorkshire Numismatist* 1 (1988), 13-26) that the contents of the Beauworth hoard favour nearby mints in the south and east and may not accurately represent the outputs of individual mints, but the trend is clear.

TABLE 3: Numbers of Coins and Mints in Various Hoard Parcels

<i>Name</i>	<i>Type</i>	<i>Coins</i>	<i>Mints</i>	<i>Comments</i>
Rotherham	Ha	30	13	
Corringham	Ha	19	9	
York Bishopshill	Wm I-1	5	2	
	Wm I-2	28	9	Excluding 14 of York
Scaldwell	Wm I-5	199	38	Excluding 60 of Northampton
York Monksgate	Wm I-5	24	11	Excluding 18 of York
	Wm I-6	16	8	Excluding 14 of York
Beauworth	Wm I-5	25	13	
	Wm I-6	24	18	
	Wm I-7	16	10	
	Wm I-8	6216	57	
Tamworth	Wm I-8	29	24	
	Wm II-1	63	33	Excluding 26 of Tamworth
	Wm II-2	136	36	Excluding 19 of Tamworth
Shillington	Wm II-1	32	19	
	Wm II-2	52	21	
	Wm II-3	62	26	
	Wm II-4	16	9	
	Hy I-7	17	7	
Bournemouth	Hy I-14	362	44	
Lincoln	Hy I-7	26	9	
	Hy I-10	159	29	
	Hy I-11	5	4	
	Hy I-13	217	35	Excluding 72 of Northampton
	Hy I-15	46	11	
South Kyme	Hy I-15	9	5	
	St-1	196	31	Excluding 48 of Lincoln
Watford	Hy I-14	49	19	
	Hy I-15	91	14	Excluding 165 of London
	St-1	380	35	
Prestwich	Hy I-15	57	13	
	St-1	634	41	Excluding 121 of Chester
Linton	Hy I-15	7	5	Not shown in Figure 3
	St-1	39	23	Not shown in Figure 3
	St-2	40	17	Not shown in Figure 3
Wicklewood	Hy I-15	13	5	
	St-1	28	15	Excluding 10 of Norwich
	St-2	60	12	Excluding 37 of Norwich
	St-6	48	11	Excluding 62 of local mints
	St-7	13	8	Excluding 10 of Norwich
Awbridge	St-7	21	8	

For references see Table 4.

Only coins identified by type and mint included in the above totals.

in the output of the different mints, the higher the line will lie on the graph since more coins will be needed before the smaller mints are likely to be represented. The broken lines represent the limit of possible values, the lower line representing parcels in which every coin is from a different mint and the vertical lines representing the total number of mints known for the period in question. Figure 2 shows parcels of coins from the reigns of William I and William II and indicates that between sixty and seventy mints were active. Figure 3 shows parcels of coins of Henry I and Stephen and indicates that between fifty and sixty mints were active except during Henry I Type 15 (open squares) and Stephen

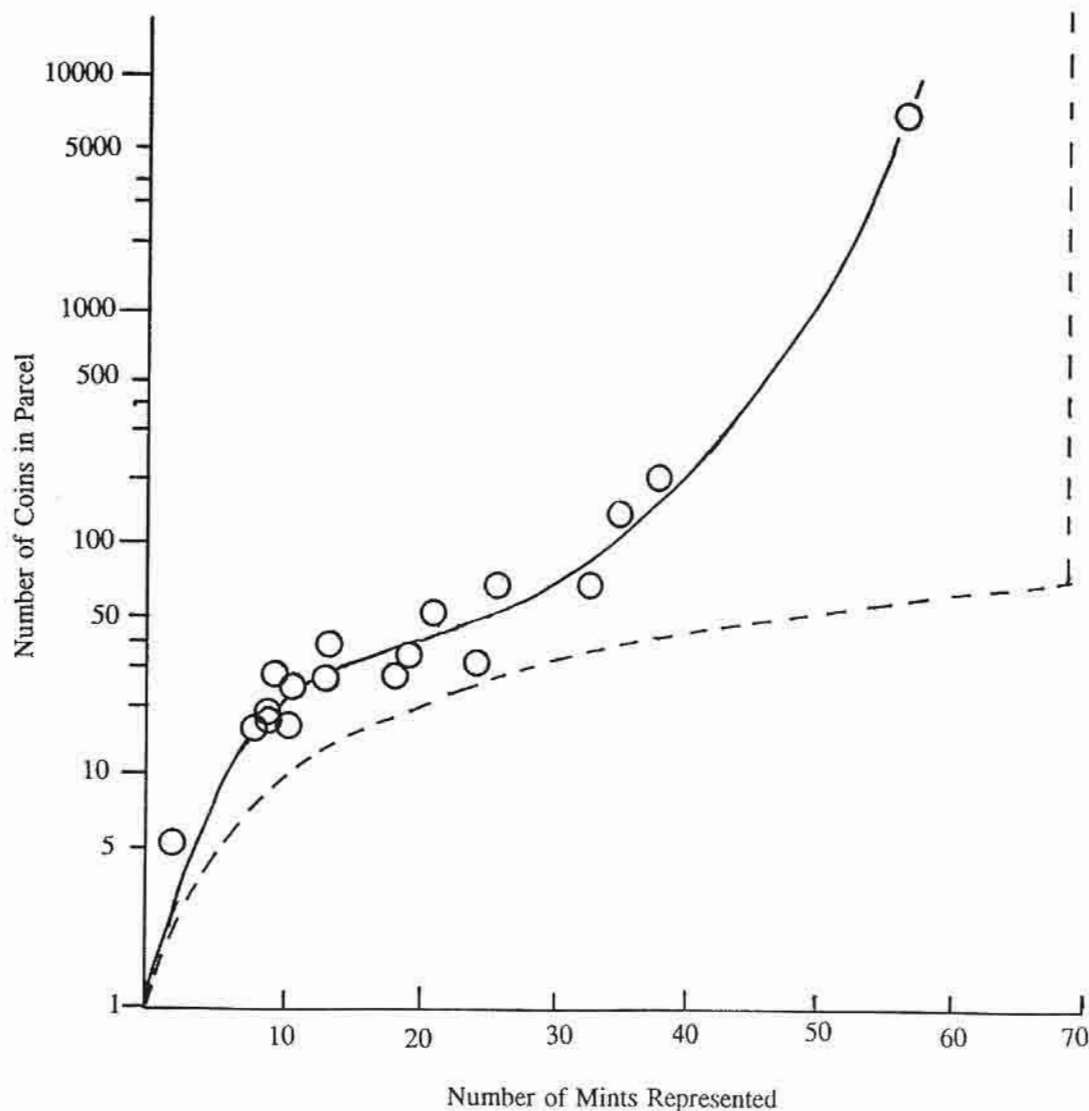


Fig. 2 Number of coins *versus* the number of mints found in various parcels of coins issued between 1066 and 1100 from hoards. Details are given in Table 3.

Types 2 and 6 (shaded squares). During these types only about twenty to thirty of the mints were active, indicating that about half were closed following the purge of the moneyers. Most of these mints were reopened under Stephen but his Types 2 and 6 are only known from mints in the eastern half of the country.

Using Figures 2 and 3, one can estimate the number of mints that will be represented in any particular parcel of coins, given that one knows the total number of mints that were active, or, conversely, one can estimate how many coins of a given type have survived by noting how many mints are known. The scatter of points on the graph gives some idea of the accuracy with which these numbers can be estimated. The estimate is more accurate for small parcels. Type 4 of Henry I, for example, is predicted to have between twelve and thirty-five surviving specimens, a figure that is in excellent agreement with the nineteen known specimens of this



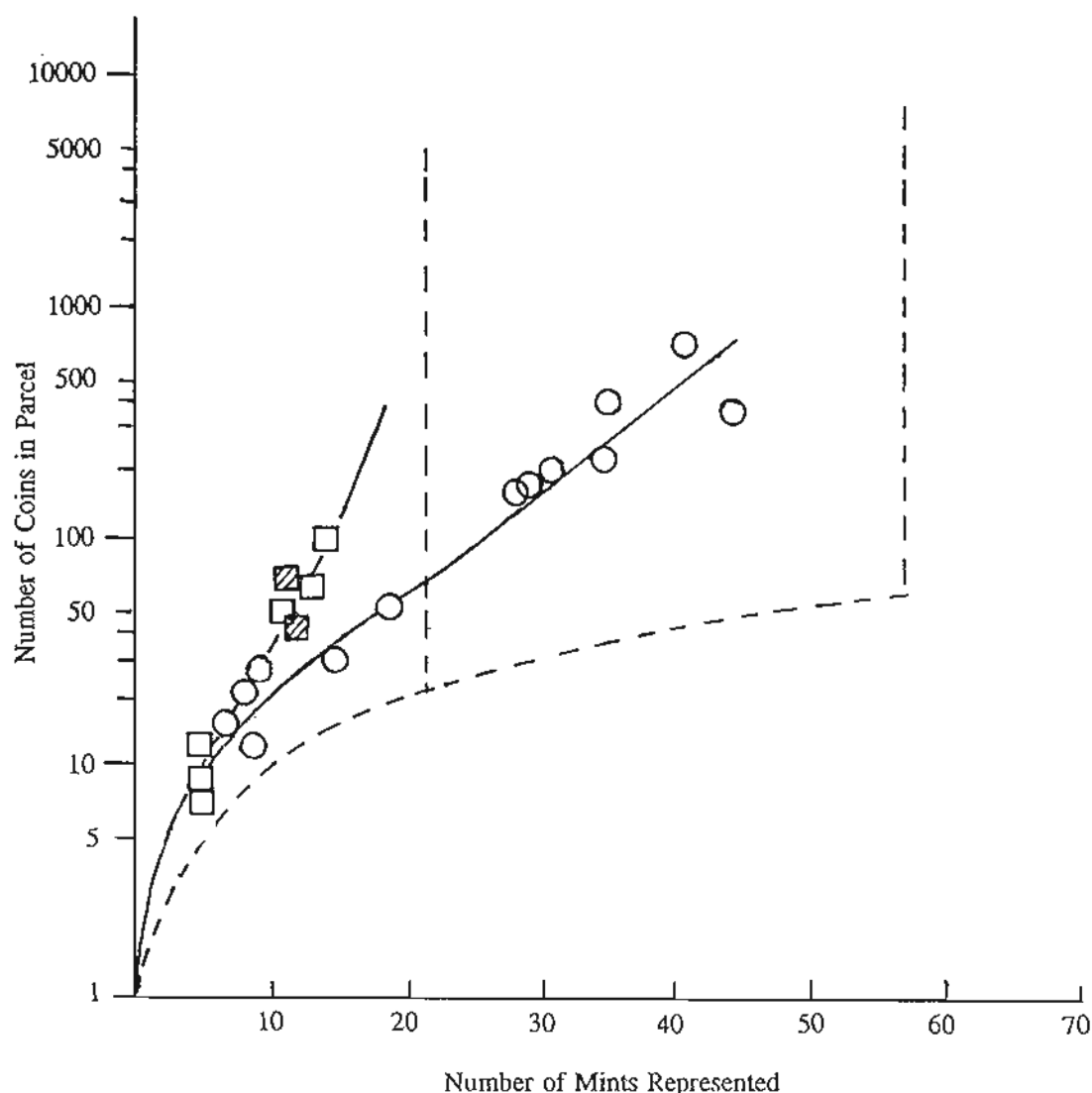


Fig. 3 Numbers of coins *versus* the number of mints found in various parcels of coins issued between 1100 and 1154. Open squares correspond to Henry I Type 15 and shaded squares to Stephen Types 2 and 6. Details are given in Table 3.

type.<sup>9</sup> For large parcels, the uncertainty is increased by the compressed scale of the vertical axis and the difficulty of knowing the exact position of the line. Thus estimates of survival rates greater than 1000 are more qualitative than quantitative. Further uncertainties arise from the assumptions (which may not be valid) that the distribution of the outputs of the mints did not change during the periods considered and that the contents of the hoards reflect the distribution of the coins in circulation.

<sup>9</sup> J.J. North, *NCirc* 101 (1993), 194.

The number of known mints is shown in column B of Table 1 and the estimate of the number of surviving coins based on the number of known mints if given in column F.<sup>10</sup> In most cases the estimate of surviving coins is in reasonable agreement with the number of coins reported in the hoards and in single finds. There are a few significant discrepancies. The number of coins reported in hoards for William I Type 2 exceeds the estimate of survivals because most of these hoards were deposited during the devastation of York in 1069 and contain a very large proportion (30–50%) of coins from the York mint. The survival estimate does not make allowance for the possibility of such a large representation of a single mint among the surviving coins. The opposite effect is observed for William I Type 5 and William II Type 2 in which the estimates of survival greatly exceed the number of coins recorded from hoards, likely reflecting large unrecorded hoards from these two periods.<sup>11</sup>

In the early years of Henry's reign few hoards were deposited and the estimated surviving stock of around twenty to 100 coins of each type comes almost entirely from single finds. Blackburn has examined the survival frequencies of coins of this reign in single finds (Table 1 column D in brackets),<sup>12</sup> in English and foreign hoards, and in the *British Museum Catalogue* and the *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* (Table 1 column C in brackets). While Henry's early coins are rare among the surviving coins and in the British hoards, they are not particularly rare in foreign hoards or among single finds. Of the types issued before 1124 none (apart from Type 10) is represented among the single finds by a number that is statistically different from 3 (6 using Blackburn's figures).<sup>13</sup> These results confirm that single finds were, at the time when they were lost, equally plentiful among each of the Norman types. The rarity of coins of the early part of Henry's reign is attributable to the lack of hoards, which is itself a compliment to the good management of Henry's government.

Although this analysis makes assumptions that are difficult to verify and are possibly not valid, the general consistency of the results tends to confirm the picture presented here. Sometimes a bias can be spotted, as in the case of the Linton hoard in which many more mints are represented than would be expected for the eighty-nine coins described. However, these represent only half the hoard, since the other half was not recorded. Since the number of recorded mints corresponds to the number that would be expected for all 180 coins in the hoard, it is likely that the reported portion had been carefully selected and the unreported part consisted only of duplicates. In cases where coins listed as found in the hoards have been melted down the survival estimates will be too high. In other cases, as noted above, the presence of large numbers of local coins in a hoard may make the estimate too low. In spite of these uncertainties, the survival estimates should prove a useful guide to those studying Norman coins and their mints.

## Conclusions

The information obtained from hoards and single finds show that during the Norman period prior to the purge of the moneyers in 1124, when the system of regular recoinages ended, (i) coins of each type were withdrawn from circulation and reminted during the first half of the currency of the following type, (ii) the distribution of surviving coins among the different types reflects the distribution of hoards and not the size of the original issue, and (iii) the

<sup>10</sup> The mint count is based on the listing by E.J. Harris that appeared in a series of articles in *SCMB* 1983–88.

<sup>11</sup> Blackburn (as in note 4) has speculated that there may also be an unrecorded hoard from early in Henry I's reign. If this is the case, Table 1 suggests that it is unlikely to have contained more than 100 coins.

<sup>12</sup> Blackburn, as in note 1.

<sup>13</sup> The larger number of single finds for Type 10 suggests that it likely was issued over a longer period than other types of the reign. A period of four years seems likely, reducing the average length of the other issues to 1.5 years.

number of coins recorded in hoards and the number of recorded mints can be combined to show that between sixty and seventy mints were active during the reigns of William I and William II but that this number fell to between fifty and sixty during the reign of Henry I. Only about twenty-five mints survived the purge of 1124, though the number was restored after the accession of Stephen. The number of known mints can be used to estimate the number of surviving coins, suggesting that there are probably large unrecorded hoards deposited during Type 5 of William I and Type 2 of William II.

TABLE 4: Selected Bibliography of Norman Coin Hoards

<i>Name</i>	<i>Last Type</i>	<i>Size</i>	<i>References</i>
Rotherham (1939)	Wm I-1	43	Inv. 318; BP 262
Soberton (195)	Wm I-1	259	Inv. 334; BP 263
Denge Marsh (1739)	Wm I-1	c.500	BP 265; <i>NC</i> (1957) 186-190
York Bishopshill (1882)	Wm I-2	c.55	Inv. 386; BP 273; <i>SCBI</i> Yorkshire Pt I xxxvi
Corringham (1994)	Wm I-3	100	<i>NC</i> (1996) 291
Wallbrook (1872)	Wm I-5	c.7000	Inv. 255; BP 261
Scaldwell (1914)	Wm I-5	260	Inv. 323; BP 284; <i>BNJ</i> 28, 650-1
York Monksgate (1851)	Wm I-6	73	Inv. 390; BP 285; <i>SCBI</i> Yorkshire Pt. I, xxxvi
Beauworth (1833)	Wm I-8	c.10000	Inv. 77; BP 287
Tamworth (1877)	Wm II-2	285	Inv. 350; BP 288; <i>NC</i> (1992) 129-132
Shillington (1871)	Hy I-7	c.250	Inv. 330; B9; <i>CH</i> 4-352; <i>NC</i> (1992) 111-132
South Oxfordshire (1948)	Hy I-13	18	B15
Bournemouth (1901)	Hy I-14	376	Inv. 49, 71; B17; <i>NC</i> (1977) 180-3
Lincoln (Malandry) (1971)	Hy I-15	774	B19; <i>CH</i> 1-359
South Kyme (1922)	St-1	324	Inv. 337; B25
Watford (1818)	St-1	1227	Inv. 372; B28
Prestwich (1971)	St-1	1065	B32; <i>CH</i> 1-360
Linton (1883)	St-2	180	Inv. 235; B31
Awbridge (1905)	Hy II-1	180	Inv. 16
Wicklewood (1989)	Hy II-1	342	B37; M. Archibald Private communication

- Inv. J.D.A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards AD600-1500*, RNS Special Publications No. 1.  
 BP M. Blackburn and H. Pagan, 'A Revised Checklist of Coin Hoards from the British Isles c.500-1100', *Anglo-Saxon Monetary History. Essays in memory of Michael Dolley*, Leicester University Press, 1986, pp. 291-313.  
 B M. Blackburn, 'Coinage and Currency under Henry I: a Review', *Anglo-Norman Studies* XIII (1991), 51-81.  
 CH *Coin Hoards*. Royal Numismatic Society  
 NC Numismatic Chronicle  
 BNJ British Numismatic Journal

# THE ANGLO-IRISH HALFPENCE, FARTHING AND POST-1290 PENCE OF EDWARD I AND III

J.J. NORTH

A few years ago I published in this Society's *Journal* a fundamental reappraisal of the current classification of the early Irish 'single-cross' pence of Edward I.<sup>1</sup> Subsequently I suggested certain refinements to that of the halfpence and farthings which were published as notes in *Spink's Numismatic Circular*.<sup>2</sup> In my paper on the pence the proposed varieties were distinguished by the letters A to D to avoid confusion with earlier classifications, and an extension of this method of designation to cover the later issues is discussed below. It is possible to incorporate the halfpence and farthings, including those of Edward III, into this system, although, as is the case with the English minor denominations, these do not always correlate in all details with pence in the same class.

At the end of this paper a summary of the entire classification is given in order to present a complete résumé in one volume for ease of reference. A few pence of groups A–D have been included in the plate for similar reasons, although it will, of course, be necessary to refer to my earlier paper for full details of those varieties.

## Pence post 1290

Group E is distinguished by a rose on the breast, a feature of most English coins of class 7 with which it has other affinities such as the crown from the same punch. On the English coins of this period the size of the lettering was reduced and the previously open C and E became closed. On the earlier Irish pence only the reverse lettering was large, but this now follows the English pattern with similar small punches used on both sides. Crude examples of this variety were struck bearing the name of Waterford (Pl. 1, 15) and many numismatists have regarded these as forgeries. However, they cannot be condemned out of hand as records show that there were irregularities at Waterford about this time. An entry under 1299 in the chronicle of Walter of Hemmingford refers to coins made by Stephen, Bishop of Waterford, said to be debased copies of English pence called scaldings. Stephen de Fulburn was elected on 10 June 1274 and translated to Tuam on 12 July 1286, and cannot therefore be responsible for group E pence which must have been introduced post 1290. However, he was succeeded by Walter de Fulburn who held the see until ante 14 December 1307, and it is possible that the chronicler, writing over a decade after the transfer, confused the two bishops with the same surname. Stephen himself was the subject of an enquiry in 1285, having been accused of graft, corruption and inefficiency by his rival Nicholas de Clere.<sup>3</sup> A halfpenny, discussed below, would seem to indicate that the Waterford mint was probably operative until the opening of the mint at Cork in 1295, and the group E pence under discussion may well have been struck from locally made dies. One point that militates against the suggestion that they are outright forgeries is the fact that no such coins from official dies, from which they could be copied, are known to exist. However, this cannot be regarded as conclusive since forgers of that time had

<sup>1</sup> J.J. North, 'The Early Irish pence of Edward I reclassified', *BNJ* 61 (1991), 23–30.

<sup>2</sup> 'The late Irish halfpence of Edward I', 'A late Irish farthing of Edward I', and 'A Dublin halfpenny of the coinage

of c.1295'. All in *NCir* 1992, 113, 305 and 344–5 respectively.

<sup>3</sup> D.W. Dykes, 'The coinage of Richard Oluf', *BNJ* 33 (1964), 73–9 (at 77–8).

no qualms about producing concoctions such as the English/Irish and Irish/English 'mules', both in Voided Long Cross and Single Long Cross varieties.

The opening of the Cork mint saw the introduction of a new obverse variety distinguished by a pellet in each angle of the obverse triangle and designated group F in this classification. None of the punches used to make up the portrait has been identified with that on an English die. Two minor varieties have been noted in the obverse dies used at Cork as follows:<sup>4</sup>

1. Crown with pellet on stalk between fleurs. Unbarred E in EDW. Reversed N in DNS. Neat workmanship.
2. Crown with minute crosses between fleurs (as at Dublin). Larger coarser lettering on obverse with both Ns reversed.

There also exists a very crude obverse die based upon this variety which is combined with a Waterford reverse of better style (Pl. 1, 17). Although its extreme coarseness and apparent baseness suggest a forgery, it is the only penny of Waterford with the obverse pellets which are the distinguishing feature of this group. The argument advanced above about the unlikelihood of an unknown type for a mint being the subject of a forgery also applies in this case.

Group G is distinguished by a single pellet beneath the portrait and in this has affinities with the contemporary class 9 in England, which often has a star (extremely rarely a pellet) on the breast, although no English punches appear to have been used to make the Irish dies of this issue. The Dolley and Seaby classification distinguished four varieties, of which one with an oval pellet below the bust (var. a SCBI no. 533) has since been recognised as a continental imitation with stylistic affinities to sterlings of the EDWARRA groups.<sup>5</sup> In the classification proposed in this paper, the remaining three varieties are combined into two which are distinguished by the reverse lettering – small (often with a closed C and E) or large with an open E. Although one cannot be certain of their chronology, I have reversed the order of the earlier classification by placing the smaller lettering first since it has affinities with that used in groups E and F.

## Halfpence

The bulk of the coins of this denomination belong to the early period and their design is similar to that of the pence of groups A to D without the trefoil of pellets found on these. No English punches have been identified on any of the dies and, apart from some variation in the stops and letterings, these halfpence closely resemble each other. In the Dolley and Seaby arrangement the presence or absence of a pellet at the head of the obverse legend and the punctuation have been used to subdivide the series, but it is debatable whether they have any chronological significance.

Some of the coins can be attributed to group C by the Roman letter E on the obverse and, very rarely, a gothic N on the reverse. Unlike the pence, where Roman N reverses are the exception, they appear to be normal on the halfpence.

The remaining coins of this variety have been attributed to group B since none has any distinctive features associating it with the pence of group A, which appears to have been a small issue. Halfpence were not introduced into the new English coinage of Edward I until class 3 and a similar position may have obtained in Ireland, with the initial issues being of pence and possibly farthings. Since all of the varieties of stops noted by Dolley and Seaby are found on the halfpence of both Dublin and Waterford, it seems likely that this denomination of group B was only introduced at the same time or shortly before the opening the mint at

<sup>4</sup> *NCirc* 1992, 344–5.

<sup>5</sup> N.J. Mayhew, *Sterling Imitations of Edwardian Type*.

RNS Special Publication no. 14. London 1983, 138, no. 379.



Waterford. Earlier, when discussing the pence, I posited that group C was in issue before the end of B, and in the case of the halfpenny (also only struck at Dublin) it may well be the earliest issue. It is not possible to distinguish any halfpenny attributable to group D and, if any were struck during its issue, dies of B or C were probably used.

Halfpenny of the later issues are quite rare, but sufficient have survived to enable us to attribute some to each group. Those with a rose on the breast or a pellet in each angle of the obverse triangle obviously belong to groups E and F respectively. However the attribution of one unmarked obverse die to group F is based upon its use at Cork (Pl. 1, 26), which only operated in that group. This die is somewhat perplexing in being also used at Waterford mint (Pl. 1, 27). Since the dies, both obverse and reverse, are of excellent style with the lettering closely resembling that on the Dublin coins of that period, there is no reason to doubt their authenticity, and these coins would appear to furnish proof that the mint at Waterford was still working officially at this time. It is puzzling that it should have received official dies for halfpenny and apparently not for pence, but the existence of the former tends to confirm the suggestion that the irregular pence of E and F were struck there from locally-made dies rather than being outright forgeries. The use of this halfpenny obverse die at both mints could indicate that Waterford finally closed when Cork opened in 1295, although there is no proof which way it passed. The lack of distinguishing marks leaves the attribution of the obverse die to group F open to some doubt if it was first used at Waterford, but there can be no question that it belongs to this period.

In *SCBI* 10 it is suggested that a halfpenny of Waterford with an unusual portrait (Pl. XVI, 34) may belong to the coinage of 1295. However, the lettering is similar to that found on group B coins (open E and composite S), while the crown also resembles that on some halfpenny of that issue. The coin is somewhat worn, but the face and hair could be from the punches used on a Dublin halfpenny of group C (*SCBI* 10, 560). One cannot be certain that it is not an imitation, but, if genuine, it appears to belong to group B where it may be early.

The late issues of halfpenny were subdivided in the Dolley and Seaby classification by the presence or absence of a pellet on the breast, and they described both varieties as having late lettering. Although it does not alter their sequence, I have preferred to base the classification on the two distinct portraits coupled with variations in the lettering.<sup>6</sup> Details of these distinctions are given below on page 17. The dating of the two varieties presents some difficulties, as some of the punches used to make obverse dies of English classes 6 and 7 have been employed for the portrait of group G(a). The most significant of these is the crown, which has a broken side fleur and was used in this stage on the dies of class 6, which is now considered later than class 7 and has been dated c. 1293 to c. 1296.<sup>7</sup> The evidence of shared punches for dating must be treated with some caution in the light of the use and re-use of some (particularly crowns) over several years, but in this case the crown does not appear to have been used again on English dies and was probably soon discarded in view of its condition. Thus it seems reasonable to assume that the dies for G(a) were made during the currency of English class 6 or shortly afterwards, and the coins can probably be dated c. 1297. Accounts show that no halfpenny were struck in England between September 1298 (or shortly before) and September 1300 (or shortly after) and it is possible that Ireland followed suit. If this were the case the halfpenny of group G(b), which can be firmly associated with the pence of Group G2 by the pellet and larger reverse lettering, were possibly struck between the end of 1300 and the closure of the Dublin mint about mid 1301.

After this no further coins of any denomination were struck in Ireland until the reign of Edward III, when a shortage of silver brought about in England the issue of a debased coinage of halfpenny and farthings between 1335 and 1343, distinguished by a star in the obverse

<sup>6</sup> *NCirc* 1992, 113.

<sup>7</sup> D.I. Greenhalgh, 'The Fox Class Seven pence of Edward I', *BNJ* 59 (1989), 77-83.

and/or reverse legends. A few halfpence of this issue were struck in Dublin for a short period during 1339 to 1340 with the obverse inscription (Star)EDW/ARDV/SREX and a star after TAS on the reverse. At present only two specimens, from different dies, are known.<sup>8</sup>

## Farthings

No attempt was made by Dolley and Seaby to classify this denomination, but it is possible to distinguish two varieties – early and late.<sup>9</sup> The criteria for their recognition are detailed in the classification on page 17. It is uncertain when the issue of these coins commenced, but they may have preceded the halfpence as was the case in England.

There is a mis-shapen or fragmentary farthing which has been convincingly attributed to group H.

The following summary of distinguishing features, if used in conjunction with the plate, should enable most coins to be classified in accordance with the proposed new arrangement.

## PENCE

### Early issues (c. 1279–c. 1284?)<sup>10</sup>

Triangle of three pellets beneath the portrait.

Open gothic letters C and E (except in Group C). Pellet at head of obverse legend on most coins. Smaller lettering on obverse than on reverse.

### Key to lettering

- |                   |  |
|-------------------|--|
| R.1. Wedge tail.  | S.1. Composite – two crescents and two wedges.     |
| R.2. Scroll tail. | S.2. Body from single punch with two wedges added. |
|                   | S.3. Letter from single punch with thick waist.    |

### Reverses

1. S.2. Roman N. Incurved or straight uprights.
2. S.3. Roman N. Incurved or straight uprights.
3. S.3. Gothic N. Incurved uprights.

### Group A (before late 1280?)<sup>11</sup>

Tall straight-sided crown. Dublin mint only.

- (1) Small letter E (open but appears closed as wedges touch). Straight uprights with serifs. R.2.
  - (a) Barred A. S.3. No pellet before EDW. Reverse 1. (Pl. 1, 1).
  - (b) Unbarred A. S.1. Reverses: 1, 2 or 3 (Pl. 1, 2)
- (2) Larger E (distinctly open). Incurved uprights. S.1, R.1. Neater crown with face and hair from different punches. Reverse 1 (Pl. 1, 3).<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> D W. Dykes, 'The Anglo-Irish coinage of Edward III', *BNJ* 46 (1976), 44–50.

<sup>9</sup> *NCirc* 1992, 305.

<sup>10</sup> It is not possible to be certain about the order or date of striking of any of the Dublin pence of groups A–C (see *BNJ* 61 (1991), 24). However, most were probably struck in the following sequence:

Group A. Reverse 1.	} Possibly parallel issues.
Group B1. Reverses 1 and 2	
Group C. Reverse 3.	
Group B2. Reverses 1, 2 and 3. A few earlier obverses	

combined with these reverses may have been struck at the same time.

<sup>11</sup> It is suggested that these coins with reverse 1 represent the small issue of £200 for the period 1 May 1279 to 3 May 1280 published in *BAR Int Ser* 389 (1988), 87–96 (see *NCirc* 1991, 78–9).

<sup>12</sup> In my paper in *BNJ* 61 (p. 27), I erroneously listed a coin of this variety with reverse 3. After cleaning, the coin from which this was noted proved to be of Group D and a correction and illustration was published in *BNJ* 65 (1995), 224.

*Group B (late 1280–mid 1282?)*

Crowns from punches used for English dies of classes 3g<sub>2</sub> and 3g<sub>3</sub>.<sup>13</sup>

- (1) Crown of 3g<sub>2</sub>.
  - (a) Face, hair and lettering as group A (1b) above. Dublin mint only.  
Reverses: 1, 2 or 3 (**Pl. 1, 4 and 5**).
  - (b) Late transitional obverses with face, hair and lettering of group A (2).  
Reverses: 1 or 3.

*Varieties*

- (i) Marks after R and ANGL only. Pellet-barred N on reverse (**Pl. 1, 6**).
  - (ii) No pellets beneath bust.<sup>14</sup> Colon before CIVI on reverse 1 (**Pl. 1, 7**).
- (2) Crown of 3g<sub>3</sub>. Face, hair and lettering of group A (2), but a few have S.3 and/or R.2 and uprights are sometimes straight-sided.

*Reverses*

Dublin mint: 1, 2 or 3 (**Pl. 1, 8 and 9**). Waterford mint: 1 or 2 (*SCBI* 10, 502–523).

*Varieties*

- (1) Marks after R and ANGL only (probably early). Dublin mint (*SCBI* 10, 466–7).
- (ii) New hair punches as Group D. Pellet-barred Ns. Waterford mint (**Pl. 1, 10**).

*Group C (between late 1280 and late 1281?)<sup>15</sup>*

Small cross (in place of pellet) before EDW. Crown of 3g<sub>3</sub>. Roman E. R.2. Incurved uprights. Face of A (1) with S.1 or A (2) with S.3. Dublin mint only.

Reverses: 2 (extremely rare) or 3 (**Pl. 1, 11**; *SCBI* 10, 491–7 and pl. XVI, 29).

*Group D (c. 1282 or later)*

Crown of 3g<sub>3</sub>. New oblong face. Hair from same punches as group B (2) var ii. S.1, R.1.

*Reverses*

Dublin mint: 3 (*BNJ* 65 (1995), Pl. 19, 1). Waterford mint: 1 (**Pl. 1, 12**).

A mule exists combining an obverse of this group with a Dublin reverse of group E (**Pl. 1, 13**).

**Intermediate issues (c. 1292–c. 1296?)**

Neat lettering of similar size on both sides with closed gothic Q and G. No triangle of pellets beneath bust, but marks as shown.

*Group E (between 1292 and 1294?)*

Rose upon breast. Portrait and lettering from punches used for English dies of classes 6 and 7. Hair similar to group D. Dublin mint (**Pl. 1, 14**).

<sup>13</sup> A few rare dies in Group B (**Pl. 1, 6 and 10**) have pellet-barred Ns, a feature which also occurs on dies of English class 3e (late) and a very few class 3g as well as the reverses of some groats. This mark has tentatively been associated with the die-maker (see *SCBI* 39, 115), but Nick Mayhew has expressed doubts about this interpretation in view of its common use on continental coins.

<sup>14</sup> Presumably this is unintentional, but a second die without the pellets has been noted, suggesting the unlikely possibility that it is a deliberate variety.

<sup>15</sup> The position of this group is uncertain as it possibly precedes Group B2 (*BNJ* 61 (1991), 29).

Irregular dies with the obverse copying those of Dublin and the reverse having the Waterford mint signature may be of local manufacture (Pl. 1, 15).<sup>16</sup>

*Group F (between 1294 and 1296?)*

Pellet in each angle of obverse triangle. Wire-line hair. Spread crown with minute crosses between central and side fleurs (some Cork coins have a pellet on stalk). Pointed back to G and G.

Dublin mint. 1 die appears to read GDW (SCBI 10, pl. XVI, 32) and another reads GDWR'/ANGL/DSHYB (Pl. 1, 16).<sup>17</sup>

Waterford mint: Very crude dies – see page 12 (Pl. 1, 17).

Cork mint<sup>18</sup> (SCBI 10, 528–32). Some dies read GDW.

**Late issues (c. 1299–c. 1301)**

Single pellet below bust.<sup>19</sup> Crown with tall central fleur. Thin wedge after ANGL.

Dublin mint only.

*Group G*

(1) Small lettering with pronounced serifs to uprights on both sides. Closed gothic G (distinguished by curved front extending beyond top and bottom of letter).<sup>20</sup> (Pl. 1, 18).

Letter G on reverse may be closed (SCBI 10, 545–6) or open (SCBI 10, 544 & 547).

(2) Larger lettering on the reverse. Composite open gothic E which appears closed on the obverse due to the coalescence of the wedges at the front. Wider crown (Pl. 1, 20).

A variety has a pellet at the head of the obverse legend (Pl. 1, 19)

## HALFPENCE

**Early issues (c. 1281–1284?)**

No marks beneath portrait. Spread crown which does not appear to be from a punch used for English dies. Open C and E.

*Group B*

R.1, S.1. Dublin and Waterford mints.

(1) No mark at head of legend, which is often without stops. Smaller lettering on obverse than reverse (Pl. 1, 21–22).

(2) Pellet before EDW. Usually stops on obverse. Large lettering both sides (Pl. 1, 23).

A variety, possibly late transitional, has R.2 on the obverse and may have an uncertain mark beneath the bust (SCBI 10, 558).

*Group C*

Roman E in EDW preceded by a pellet. R.2 on obverse. S.3 and gothic N on reverse. Some have a crown with straighter sides, possibly the original one in a worn state. A few have a wider face (SCBI 10, 560). Dublin mint only.

'Mules' with reverses as group B are commoner than those with a gothic N. (Pl. 1, 24).

<sup>16</sup> The crude pence of Groups E and F with the name of Waterford are discussed on p. 11–12.

<sup>17</sup> *NCirc* 1983, 299.

<sup>18</sup> *NCirc* 1992, 344–5.

<sup>19</sup> The variety with an oval pellet designated type a in SCBI 10 (no. 533) is now considered to be a continental imitation (see p. 12).

<sup>20</sup> This reverses the order suggested in SCBI 10 – see p. 12.

*Group D*

Not distinguished. Probably dies of group B continued to be used during this period.

**Intermediate issues (c. 1291–c. 1296?)**

Small lettering with closed gothic A and B and single-punch S on both sides.

*Group E*

Rose on breast. Dublin mint only (SCBI 10, pl. XVI, 33).

*Group F*

Wire-line hair. Obverses have A for B in EDW.

- (1) Pellet in each angle of obverse triangle. Crown with low central fleur. Dublin mint only (Pl. 1, 25).
- (2) No marks. Portrait from different punches with crown more spread. Cork and Waterford mints. Only one obverse die noted shared by both mints. (Pl. 1, 26 and 27).

**Late issues (c. 1297–c. 1301)***Group G (Dublin mint only)*

- (a) No mark below bust. Wide neck with slight drapery. The crown has a broken fleur on right which resembles a spearhead and may be from the punch used for English dies of classes 6 and late 7. The face and hair also closely resemble those on some English halfpence and the portrait appears to be similar to that on the Dublin halfpence of group E but without the rose. Only one obverse die has been noted used with two reverses, one with lettering resembling that on groups E and F (SCBI 10, 561). The lettering on the other die (SCBI 10, 562) seems mixed with some larger letters, notably the B, and may belong to the next issue.
- (b) Usually a pellet below bust (omitted on one die). Tall crown with straight sides. Wire-line hair. Pointed drapery. Large lettering on reverse (SCBI 10, 563 and Pl. 1, 28).

**Debased coinage of Edward III***Group H (March to August 1339?)*

Dies made from English punches with Crowns 1 and 2. Large oval pellet beneath bust. Star at head of obverse legend which reads EDW'ARDV/SRAX and after TAS on reverse. Dublin mint only. (SCBI 10, 579).

## FARTHING

**Early issues (c. 1280–1284?)**

Tall trifoliate crown. Oval face with prominent pellet eyes and bushy hair with three strands. Triangular drapery with no neck punch. Open C and E, S.2 and R.1. Large A. Incurved uprights to I and N. Dublin and Waterford mints (SCBI 10, 573–8).

**Late issues (c. 1299?–c. 1301?)***Group G?*

Very spread trifoliate crown. Smaller face with flatter wire-line hair. Long neck with pointed drapery. Pellet beneath bust. Closed A and B, single-punch S. Squatter A and R.2. Straight uprights with serifs to I and N. Dublin mint only (Pl. 1, 29).



## Debased coinage of Edward III

*Group H (March to August 1339?)*

A badly chipped (or mis-shapen) farthing has been attributed to this issue with some reservations, as the portions on which the critical star would appear are off flan on both sides. However the portrait has affinities with that on English farthings of the debased issue as does the small portion of the crown visible, amounting to only the right side fleur. There is a large pellet beneath the bust and the obverse reads ---/ARDV/-R--. Dublin mint only.

Contemporary forgeries and imitations<sup>21</sup>

The considerable imitation of sterlings during the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries was mainly of English type. However a few Irish exist, although these were extremely rarely used as prototypes for coins bearing the names or mints of the issuers. This was probably due not only to the much smaller proportion of Irish coins in circulation, but also to the fact that none were struck after c. 1302, which was before the bulk of the named sterlings with a crowned portrait were minted.

Many of the imitations are of crude style and appear to be forgeries pure and simple, possibly struck in Ireland. However those from dies of better workmanship are probably of continental origin and a few have been tentatively attributed by their style to a foreign mint.<sup>22</sup> A number of 'English/Irish' and 'Irish/English' mules exist and for many years these were accepted as being struck from official dies. However the disparity in the dates of the prototypes used for the obverses and reverses combined in some cases alerted numismatists to the imitative nature of such coins. This carelessness in the combination of dies which would not normally be used together is a feature of imitative issues.

In the main there should be no difficulty in distinguishing most imitations, although there are a few deceptively accurate copies.<sup>23</sup>

## CONCORDANCE

Dolley & Seaby ( <i>SCBI</i> 10)	Dowle & Finn (Green Book)	North
<i>Pence</i>		
Not recorded	Not recorded	A
Coinages of c. 1279–1284		
First issue	First issue 1280 (no. 63)	B1
Second issue	Second issue 1281–2 (no. 64)	B2 and D
Third issue	Third issue 1283 (no. 65)	
A		A or B
B		C
C		C
Coinage of 1294	Fourth issue 1294 (no. 66)	E
Coinage of 1295	Fifth issue 1295 (no. 67)	F
Coinages of c. 1297–1302	Sixth issue 1296–1302 (no. 68)	
(a)		– (Imitation).
(b)		G2
(c)		G2 var.
(d)		G1

<sup>21</sup> See Mayhew (as in n.5 above), 138–9 and pl. 43 & 45; also N.J. Mayhew, 'Imitative sterlings in the Aberdeen and Montraive hoards', *NC* 1976, 85–97 (at 90–91) and *SCBI* 10, nos. 588–604A.

<sup>22</sup> Mayhew (n.5), 97, nos. 241g, 242a and 243i; also p. 138, no. 379a.

<sup>23</sup> Three coins listed as official issues in *SCBI* 10 (nos. 468–9 and 533) are now considered to be imitations.

Dolley & Seaby ( <i>SCBI</i> 10)	Dowle & Finn (Green Book)	North
<i>Halfpence</i>		
Coinages of c. 1280–1284?	Not classified (no. 69)	
First issue		B1
Second issue		B2
Transitional		B2 (Trans?)
Third issue		C
Coinage of 1294?		E
Coinage of 1295		F
Coinages of c. 1295–1302		
(a)		G(a)
(b)		G(b)
Coinage of 1339–1340	Edward III (no. 74)	H
<i>Farthings</i>		
Coinages of c. 1280–1284?	no. 70	B? and G?
Coinage of 1339–1340	---	H

KEY TO PLATE 1<sup>24</sup>*Pence*

1. Group A.1(a). Reverse 1. Dublin mint.
2. Group A.1(b). Reverse 3. Dublin mint.
3. Group A.2. Reverse 1. Crown double-struck into die. Dublin mint.
4. Group B.1(a). Reverse 1. Dublin mint.
5. Group B.1(a). Reverse 3. Dublin mint.
6. Group B.1(b). Reverse 1. No stops on obverse. Pellet-barred N on reverse. Dublin mint.
7. Group B.1(b). Reverse 1. No mark below bust. Colon before CIVI. Dublin mint.
8. Group B.2. Reverse 2. Dublin mint.
9. Group B.2. Reverse 3. Dublin mint.
10. Group B.2. Reverse 1. Late hair. Pellet-barred Ns on obverse. Waterford mint.
11. Group C. Face of A.1. Reverse 3. Dublin mint.
12. Group D. Reverse 1. Waterford mint.
13. Group D. Reverse of group E. Dublin mint.
14. Group E. Dublin mint.
15. Group E. Irregular (local?) dies. Waterford mint.
16. Group F. Variety obverse legend. Dublin mint.
17. Group F. Irregular dies (local or contemporary forgery?). Waterford mint.
18. Group G.1. Dublin mint.
19. Group G.2. Pellet before  $\epsilon$ DW. Dublin mint.
20. Group G.2. Dublin mint.

*Halfpence*

21. Group B.1. No stops. Dublin mint.
22. Group B.1. No stops. Waterford mint.
23. Group B.2. Stops in obverse legend. Waterford mint.
24. Group C. Reverse as group B. Dublin mint.
25. Group F.1. Dublin mint.
26. Group F.2. Cork mint.
27. Group F.2. Same obverse die as 26. Waterford mint.
28. Group G(b). No pellet beneath bust. Dublin mint.

*Farthings*

29. Group G. Dublin mint.

<sup>24</sup> At the time of writing all of the coins illustrated were in the writer's collection, but they have now been dispersed.

# DIE PAIRING ON THE TRANSITIONAL COINS OF HENRY IV AND HENRY V

ERIC HARRIS

## Introduction

THE high price of silver at the time Henry IV ousted Richard II made it unprofitable for the king to continue to strike silver coins at the weight of eighteen grains per penny. In consequence very few coins were struck at this standard, and indeed the absence of Mint accounts for 1408–29 Nov 1412 suggest that the Mint was closed. By the latter date a devaluation to fifteen grains silver per penny had been legalised so it became profitable to strike the 'light coinage'. Potter<sup>1</sup> has pointed out that this succession of conditions will have required the recruitment of gravers and smiths to make the dies with their tempered steel caps welded to iron shanks and workers to prepare the silver and to strike the coins.<sup>2</sup> This recommencement would be likely to be associated with production of defective dies both as for graving and for their survival under the hammer. It will have been attractive to alter old dies such as those for Richard II coins. These happenings are borne out when the details of the coins are examined. There are groats and pence struck from altered Richard dies, there are poorly executed portraits on new dies and evidence that loss or breakage of the new dies took place so that replacements had to be made. Following Potter's arguments there will have been reason to import an experienced graver which may explain the unusual portrait on the so-called 'Emaciated Bust' coins. The activity required to produce the new coinage evidently led to an unselective use of any dies which were available to produce coins with incongruous die pairings. Physical separation of one work place from another may be indicated by whether or not particular reverse dies were shared between users of the current obverses.

The following account of these coins is based on examination of photographs of coins in the British Museum, on the British Museum's photographs of the relevant part of the second Reigate hoard and on illustrations in catalogues of the Lockett, Walters (1913) and Delmé-Radcliffe Sales plus some photographs of the Blunt collection (now in the Fitzwilliam Museum) and from private owners. A difficulty in discussing the coins of this period is that most works of reference follow Brooke<sup>3</sup> in attributing to Henry IV only the groats struck from altered Richard II dies (Potter Henry IV Type I) and those from new dies with an annulet and a pellet by the crown, a tressure of nine arcs and a reverse with Roman Ns or Vs in LONDON (Potter's Henry IV Type III). There are known also coins from atypical dies having respectively eight and ten arcs in the tressure (Potter Henry IV Type II). Following Brooke's 'Light Coinage' of Henry IV are his Henry V type I, later A with the 'Emaciated Bust' and II, later B with the 'Scowling Bust'. Other students, notably Potter, have argued that types A and B (without an added mullet) belong with Type III as issues of Henry IV. It is relevant that Type III obverses are often found with reverses of types A or B. Stewart (now Lord

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<sup>1</sup> W.J. Potter, 'The Silver Coinages of Richard II, Henry IV and Henry V', *BNJ* 30 (1930), 124–50.

<sup>2</sup> Marion M. Archibald, Janet R. S. Land and G. Milne, 'Four Early Medieval Coin Dies from the London Waterfront', *NC* 155 (1995), 163–200.

<sup>3</sup> G.C. Brooke, 'Privy Marks in the Reign of Henry V', *NC* 90 (1930), 44–87.

Stewartby) pointed out that the silver usage records for the two Henrys show that the silver coined by Henry IV should be one seventh of that coined for Henry V and that the basis of Privy Marks implicit in Brooke's division between the reigns was invalid.<sup>4</sup> Of the coins remaining to us the ratio of the coins of Type III alone to undoubted Henry V coins is much lower, *eg* one thirtieth in the Reigate II hoard London issues. The ratio in the hoard is increased to one eighteenth by adding types A and B (without mullet) to the Henry IV score.

The dies and die links on coins of Potter Henry IV Type III, the 'Emaciated Bust' (Henry V type I or A) and the 'Scowling Bust' (Henry V type II or B) have been examined. Individual obverse dies are referred to as III, A or B followed by a serial number, reverse dies similarly but with prefix 'R'. In the detailed description type B is divided into B<sub>1</sub> and B<sub>2</sub> with the former including two distinctive obverses and the latter having at least seven.

The description of the half groats starts with coins struck from one or other of the previously known two obverse dies to which is now added a third having ten arcs.

The salient point I shall be making is that the conditions did not permit the usual issue at intervals of new obverse and accompanying reverse dies with removal of the old dies. Most of the known coins would be classed as 'mules' in any other context. There is not a tidy succession of 'Classes' in the numismatist's sense; the important motive at the time must have been to provide coins from few dies and without skilled workers. For this reason it is essential to record together both dies of each coin of which many are the sole known example of the die pair being used.

The die pairings on the groats and on the halves are listed in the following plus some information on the smaller coins. The scarcity of the specimens is brought out by eighty-five of the earlier groats having fifty different die combinations of which thirty-one are unique. Each chart of the die links is accompanied by a list of the coins furnishing the information with their location (when public) and notes on die identification.

The portraits and lettering on the groat, the penny and the halfpenny obverse change after the Type III while the halfgroat continues with a portrait like that on some Edward III issues but with lettering as on the type A groats. Reverses with the 'A' lettering and the late 'B' lettering are found also on halves and pence. The die pairings which will be detailed demonstrate that die substitutions were made according to need and to the availability of replacements. These are consistent with the opinion that the reverses had a shorter life than the static obverses.

In providing illustrations I have repeated those used by Potter as well as others from the British Museum (including those of the entire Reigate hoard before its dispersal) as well as those in sale catalogues. I have usually provided only a selected illustration of each obverse because these are much more surely distinguished than are the reverses. Examples of some letters and initial marks are reproduced in Fig. A. These were copied from x3 magnified photographs of specimens.

## The Groats

The dies used to strike coins starting at Type III of which I could obtain a photograph have been identified within the limits set by poor striking, clipping and wear. This was possible because so few specimens are known that they have merited illustration. The specimens of 'Scowling Bust' type B<sub>2</sub> are more common so specimens are not well recorded; there are numerous reverses of which nineteen are illustrated. Linkages between obverse and reverse dies used for coins of type III, the 'Emaciated Bust' (A), the first 'Scowling Bust' (B<sub>1</sub>) with

<sup>4</sup> I. Stewart, 'The Howard Linecar Lecture 1988: English Numismatics – Progress and Prospects', *BNJ* 58 (1988), 110–22.

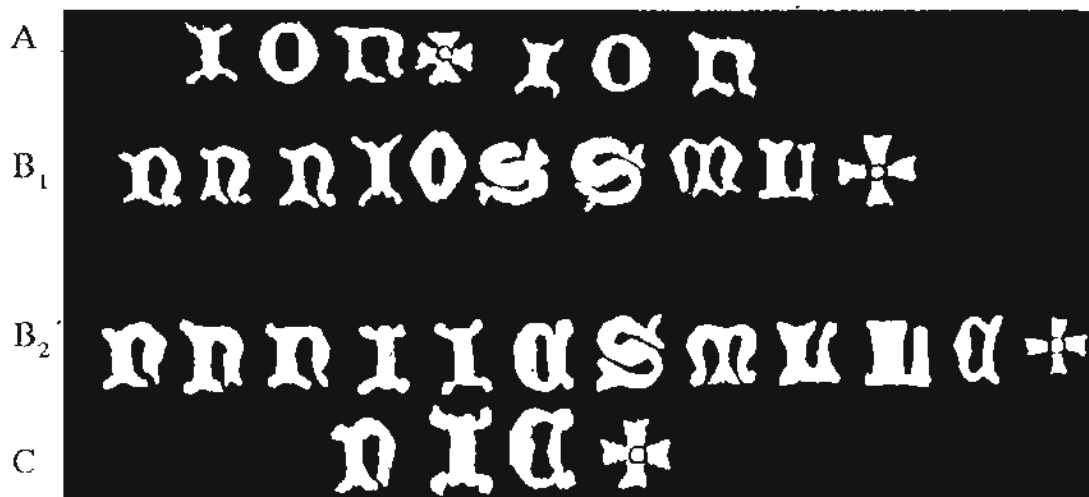


Fig. 1. Specimen letters (x3), copied from enlargements of photographs.

fleurs over the crown and the second 'Scowling Bust' (B<sub>2</sub>) without the fleurs are set out in Fig. 1. On the chart the lines bear reference numbers which are related in Table 1 to examples of the coins having the dies specified at each end of the line. Two 'new' obverses have turned up. I have cited all those examples including multiple appearances of the same specimen (these shown by an =) which I have found legible, but some may be errors when the dies are similar and the coins are misstruck or encrusted. Where a number of similar reverses labelled B<sub>2</sub> are quoted they are not die duplicates so far as I could see although the consequences of mis-striking and wear make judgment difficult.

#### *Obverse dies of type III*

Table 1 is set out in relation to the columns on Fig. 1. These are headed by the varieties of Type III Henry IV obverse dies characterised as follows: Die III-1 has the terminal *Q* of the legend close to the initial cross with no stop between. There is a pellet above the fleur at the right hand facing end of the crown (**Pl. 2, obv. labelled 1-4**).

Die III-2 has a comma over a slipped trefoil interposed between the *Q* and the initial cross and a pellet at the right end of the crown (**Pl. 2, obv. labelled 5-6**).

Die III-3 has a comma between the *Q* and the left side of the slipped trefoil before the initial cross, also the crown is displaced to the left and tilts down to the left (**Pl. 3, obv. labelled 30-32**).

Die III-4/5 has a comma over a saltire between the *Q* and the slipped trefoil at the end of the legend, also there is a groove in the tressure over the fleur at the right end of the crown (**Pl. 3, obv. labelled 34-39**). With use this flaw increases down the side of the fleur as on Walters 250 (Potter's III-5).

Die III-6 has the reading *FRANCIE* and again the crown is displaced to the left and tilted down to the left (**Pl. 3, obv. 40**).

#### *Reverse Dies Associated with Type III (i.e. = initial cross) st in these readings represents slipped trefoil*

The details of the legends on these reverses are the same as those given by Potter with the addition of a full reading of III-3 and of the new variety III-4.



R.II-3	has i.c.POSVIsTIDIVM $\times$ ADIVTOREIM $\times$ MEVM This was also used with the ten-arc tressure obverse of Potter's Type II-2
R.III-1	has i.c.POSVIsTIDIVM $\times$ ADIVTORIEM $\times$ MEVM and CIVI $\times$ ITAS $\times$ LONIDON
R.III-2	has i.c.POSVIsTIDIVM $\times$ ADIVTORIEM $\times$ MEVM and CIVIITASILONIDON
R.III-3	has i.c.POSVIsTIDIVM $\times$ ADIVTOREIM $\times$ MEVM and CIVIITASILONIDON
R.III-4	has i.c.POSVIsTIDIVM $\times$ ADIVTOREIM $\times$ MEVM and CIVIITASI $\times$ LONIDON
R.IV-1	has i.c.POSVI $\times$ IDIVM $\times$ ADIVTOREIM $\times$ MEVM (Potter lists this with POSVIsT)

Examples of groats from obverse dies III-1 and III-4 with reverses of type A (the 'Emaciated Bust') are more numerous than coins struck from type III dies on both sides. It may be inferred that the type A reverses were produced by a new die cutter having his distinctive set of letter puncheons with open Ns and Os. At the same time another die cutter was using such letter puncheons as were to hand. His puncheons for M lacked a serif on one or other side and the N has the foot of the right leg resting on the serif of the left leg so this letter, in common with the O, is narrow. This is the lettering for type B<sub>1</sub>. However, before the obverse type III-1 die was discarded it was used with a series of reverses. Starting with reverse R.III-1 there were 2 'A' reverses (**Pl. 2, rev. 1, 2**) and one of R.B<sub>1</sub> (**Pl. 2, rev. 3**). There are at least six different R.A dies and five (probably six) different R.B<sub>1</sub> dies; these are described in the following with notes of the number of the relevant entry in Table 1 which lists the examples I have traced. With fonts A and B<sub>1</sub> on the reverses the distinctive features are the positions of the saltires in the inner circle and the spelling in the outer circle.

#### *Reverse dies of types A and B<sub>1</sub>*

	Outer segments 3      4	1	Inner Circle	Used with obverse	No. in Table 1
R.A.1	DIVTORIEM $\times$ MEVM	POSVI+	CIVII TAS $\times$   LON   DON $\times$	A-2	11
R.A.2	DIVTOREIM $\times$ MEVM $\times$	POSVI+	CIVII TAS $\times$   LON   DON $\times$	A-1	10
R.A.3.	DIVTORIEM $\times$ MEVM	POSVI+	CIVII TAS $\times$   LON   DON <sup>u</sup>	III-1	2
				A-1	8
R.A.4	DIVTORIEM $\times$ MEVM	POSVI+	CIVII TAS   $\times$ LON   DON $\times$	III-1	1
R.A.5	DIVTOREIM $\times$ MEVM	POSVI+	CIVI-   TAS   $\times$ LON   DON $\times$	A-2	12
R.A.6	DIVTORIEM $\times$ MEVM	POSVI+	CIVII TAS   $\times$ LON   DON $\times$	III-4	38
R.B.1	DIVTORIEM $\times$ MEVM	POSVI+	CIVII TAS-   LON   DON <sup>v</sup>	III-3	3
				A-2	13
R.B.2	DIVTORIEM $\times$ MEVM	POSVI+	CIVII TAS $\times$   $\times$ LON   $\times$ DON	A-1	9
R.B.3	DIVTOREIM $\times$ MEVM	POSVI+	CIVII TAS $\times$   LON   DON	A-2	14
R.B.4	DIVTORIEM $\times$ MEVM	POSVI	CIVII TAS $\times$   LON   DON	III-4	36
R.B.5	DIVTORIEM $\times$ MEVM	POSVI $\times$	CIVII TAS $\times$   LON   DON $\times$	III-4	37

The legends of reverses R.A and R.B<sub>1</sub> are referred to by numbers on Fig. 1. Some sample letters of the two types have been copied from 3 $\times$  magnified photographs of coins (Fig. A) but a difficulty is that even on one coin different forms of a particular letter may be seen. Presumably punches were changed by chance or necessity. During the currency of R.A reverses the two A obverse dies came into use (A-1 **Pl. 2, obv. labelled 7–10** and A-2 **Pl. 2, obv. labelled 11–17**). These two obverses have the characteristic lettering seen on the two reverses: **Pls 2–3, revs. 1, 2, 8, 10, 11, 12 and 38**. The type A obverses replaced obverse III-1 but obverse III-2 was stored and used later with a mullet added (**Pl. 2, obv. 23**). The details of the two A obverses are next described.

#### *Type A obverses (= 'Emaciated Bust')*

The initial cross on unworn coins has a pellet at its centre.

Die 1 has **hENRIC $\times$ DI $\times$** . The middle petal of the fleur over the left facing pearl of the crown points exactly at the pearl.

Die 2 has **hENRIC+DI**⧫. The middle petal of the fleur over the left facing side of the crown points between the left hand pearl and the central fleur on the crown band.

The use of the type A obverses seems to have coincided with diminished Mint activity because the obverse dies III-3 and III-6 were not used with either R.A or R.B<sub>1</sub> dies and die III-4/5 was used with only one R.A die. The obverse type A-2 had a long life and is found paired with more new reverses similar to R.B<sub>1</sub> but with some features changed, perhaps because of wear of the puncheons. Notably the **Ŋ** loses its right foot and POSVI may be followed by a saltire or nothing instead of by a quatrefoil. This later type is labelled B<sub>2</sub> and corresponds to Potter's 'Scowling Bust' types 2 and 3. Next, more actively led to the new reverses being used, with two type III obverses (III-3 and III-4/5) which had been out of use, and also to putting into use of two new obverses having B<sub>1</sub> letters (see **Pls 2-3, obvs. labelled 18-20, 24-27**). These new obverses are easily distinguished by their having fleurs on the tressure points over the crown. Clearly the die cutter had difficulty in inserting these fleurs in the limited space. There are no marks by the crown or on the breast.

*Type B<sub>1</sub> obverses (= first 'Scowling Bust')*

Die 1: the legend ends **CI**⧫. The central petal of the fleur over the left facing side of the crown runs into the pearl on the crown band (**Pl. 2, obv. labelled 18-20**).

Die 2: the legend ends **CI**⧫. The central petal of the fleur over the left facing side of the crown runs into the left facing side petal of the central fleur on the crown band (**Pl. 3, obv. labelled 24-27**).

There are no marks by the crown or on the breast.

Obverse A-2 is linked to obverses B<sub>1</sub>-1 and B<sub>1</sub>-2 by the shared R.B<sub>2</sub>-b reverse which is also shared with the later B<sub>2</sub>-1 obverse. This latter obverse is also linked by R.B<sub>2</sub>-f to the re-used type III-2 obverse to which a mullet has been added (**Pl. 2, obv. 23**). This sequence provides a chain between use of the type III dies for Henry IV and the mullet-marked coins for Henry V during which an exiguous coinage required a series of badly made dies. An unanswered question is: what became of the distinctive letter puncheons for the A dies? Can they have been used elsewhere by a continental die sinker who had briefly been employed in England?

The obverse type III-2 die has turned up with an entirely new Henry IV reverse die (labelled III-4, **Pl. 2, rev. 6**). The whereabouts of the specimen is unknown. The reverse resembles Potter's R. III-3 which is best seen on a Reigate coin (**Pl. 3, rev. 39**) but the new one has a saltire before **LOŊ** and different inter-letter spacings. The obverse die III-2 subsequently reappears with a mullet added to the right breast as noted above (**Pl. 2, rev. 23**).

The few coins bearing the poorly executed obverse die III-3 include a hitherto unrecorded coin showing that the die had been used with an early reverse of Potter's type II which he called 'Transitional die 1'. This coin passed through Messrs Spink between 1975 and 1980; it is not listed in the Table but may show an early use of the die. The obverse is like that shown as **Pl. 3, obv. labelled 30-32** and the reverse is like Potter's Pl. 8 no. 1. The III-3 obverse is paired with reverses of Potter's type IV-1 (**Pl. 3, rev. 30**) and B<sub>2</sub> (**Pl. 3, revs. 31, 32**).

The obverse die III-4/5 is paired with R.III-2 (**Pl. 3, rev. 34**) and R.III-3 (**Pl. 3, rev. 39**). It was also used with R.A-6 and three later reverses for which other links have not appeared. This die has a flaw up the right facing end of the crown; when the flaw had worsened Potter called it die III-5 but here the few examples in either state are called obverse die III-4.

I have not seen a record of die III-6 being used with an early reverse; perhaps it was just too badly engraved to be accepted at that time. However, in what seems to have been the time of die shortage, there is an example of its use with a reverse having taller letter **Is** than occur on earlier coins and labelled type C in the following (**Pl. 3, rev. 40**).

Variation of the irons for impressing the outline of the king's face on the dies are met after the two B<sub>1</sub> dies had been in use. The later, Scowling Bust, obverses without fleurs over the

crown are found with three different faces. It could be that the puncheons previously used for types III, A and B<sub>1</sub> were used in a haphazard way to make the later dies. It is difficult and not helpful to try to specify this detail because the appearance depends on the depth of the impression and how worn it has become. What is important for appreciating the requirement to mark a special event is the existence of coins struck both before and after a mullet has been added. This addition is shown in Table 1 by an asterisk \*. It is to be seen on dies of type III (Pl. 2, obv. 23) and of type B<sub>2</sub> (Pl. 4, obvs 47, 48). There is an indication of attempts to add the mark to the coins depicted on Pl. 3, obv. 29 and Pl. 4, obv. 50. The addition of the mullet is consistent with the proposition that it was to mark the accession of Henry V for whom the mark continued into his later issues of silver. If this is correct then it follows that the type B<sub>2</sub> 'Scowling Bust' obverses without mullet are the terminal issues for Henry IV. It would be of interest to know how many of these dies were used. Potter's 'Scowling Bust' no. 4 (Pl. 3, obv. labelled 42-44) has a mullet replacing the fleur at the centre of the breast and seems not to have been used without the mullet; it has the larger letters of type C and omits the terminal C of *FRANC*.

There were in the Reigate hoard five coins with obverses bearing an indistinct mark on the left facing breast (Pl. 3, obv. 33) of which two had a Potter type IV-1 reverse (Pl. 3, rev. 33) like that of a clipped specimen in the British Museum. This particular reverse, unlike those of type III, has no slipped trefoil in either legend and POSVI is followed by X. It may have been made using Henry IV puncheons at a later time.

This brings us to the particulars of the die pairings. Combinations seen on the groats are indicated on Fig. 2 by the lines joining obverses to reverses; the numbers on the lines provide in Table 1 references to the coin(s) bearing the link. Citations in the table with Pl.- and No.- are to the Plates of Potter's illustrations in *BNJ* vol. 30. 'RCL' cites the lot number in the Lockett Sales, 'W' followed by a lot number refers to the Walters (1913) sale, and PDR to the Peggy Delmé-Radcliffe sale. 'Rei' are references to the row and number across the row on the British Museum photographs of the second Reigate hoard sheets 20 and 21. 'BM' are coins in the National Collection of which photographs exist, 'Ash' are specimens in the Ashmolean Museum and FWM are coins in the Fitzwilliam Museum. Many of the museum specimens were in the sales just mentioned. 'SNC' with a date and item number refer to illustrations of coins in *Spinks Numismatic Circular*.

The Henry IV dies of Potter's type III and obverse dies 1 and 2 of both types A and B<sub>1</sub> are as he describes and there are photographs of the relevant obverses and reverses on the Plates of this paper. The coins show many examples of the letter punches being or becoming broken and it is not uncommon to find impressions of dies on which the letters have more than one form.

## The Half Groats

The halfgroats of this period are scarcer than the groats; few new examples have come to light. This on one hand simplifies their ordering but on the other hand deprives us of possibilities of finding shared dies. The same presentation has been adopted as used for the groats. The chart at Fig. 3 shows the pairings found and Table 2 lists details of the coins. The greater diversity of the reverse readings makes each more specific than readings on the groats. Another obverse has appeared, it is labelled III-3 in Table 2 (Pl. 4, obv. 59). This, like one of Potter's transitional groats, has ten arcs in the tressure so that an arc replaces a cusp at the centre of the king's bust. It has an annulet left (facing) and a pellet right of the crown. The reverse differs in detail from other reverses noted here. The type III obverse die 2 is found paired with three type 3 reverses and with two later reverses. This same obverse was later marked with a mullet on the line of the right facing shoulder (Pl. 4, obv. 58) and paired with the previous type III reverse. On the two dies of type A the bust resembles or is identical with that seen on half groats CLD of Edward III but the lettering is like that used on the type A

TABLE 1: Die pairings on groats. An asterisk denotes the presence of a mullet on the coin; 'pc' is an example in a private collection; Q denotes a quatrefoil.

No.	Dies		Stop after	Sources of Example(s)
	Obv	Rev	POSVI	
1	III-1	-R.A-4	+	Rei 20 Row 5 N. 5, 1104 Row 1 N. 3
2	III-1	-R.A-3 (= R.8)	+	FWM.PDR84, W247 = Pl. 8 N. 8, pc
3	III-1	-R.B <sub>1</sub> -1 (= R.13)	+	1104 Row 1 N. 1, pc
4	III-1	-R.III-1 (= R.7)	Q	Ash, RCL 1379 = W242, Pl. 8, N. 7
4a	III-1	-R.II-3 (= R.5)	Q	Norweb 1347, 1090 Row 1, N6
5	III-2	-R.II-3 (= R.4A)	Q	Rei 20 Row 6 N. 1, RCL3999, Pl. 8 N. 9
6	III-2	-R.III-4	Q	pc
7	A-1	-R.III-1 (= R.4)	Q	W243 = PDR85 = RCL1390, Rei 21 Row 1 N. 1 & N. 6
8	A-1	-R.A-3 (= R.2)	+	pc
9	A-1	-R.B <sub>1</sub> -2	+	SNC1977, no. 3140
10	A-1	-R.A-2	+	W245
11	A-2	-R.A-1	+	RCL1391, Norweb 163, Rei 21 Row 1 N. 3
12	A-2	-R.A-5	+	W244 = RCL3075
13	A-2	-R.B <sub>1</sub> -1 (= R.3)	+	Rei 21 Row 1 N. 5
14	A-2	-R.B <sub>1</sub> -3	+	Pl. 9 N. 2, Rei 21 Row 1 N. 4
15	A-2	-R.B <sub>2</sub> -a	λ	FWM, SNC1970, no. 12682
16	A-2	-R.B <sub>2</sub> -b (= R.19, 22, 24A)	nil	Rei 21 Row 1 N. 2
17	A-2	-R.B <sub>2</sub> -c	nil	pc
18	B <sub>1</sub> -1	-R.B <sub>2</sub> -d	x	Rei 21 Row 1 N. 2
19	B <sub>1</sub> -1	-R.B <sub>2</sub> -b (= R.16, 22, 24A)	nil	RCL3077 = pc
20	B <sub>1</sub> -1	-R.B <sub>2</sub> -e	λ	SNC 1970, no. 12687, RCL1394 = W259
21	B <sub>2</sub> -1	-R.B <sub>2</sub> -f (= R.23)	x	FWM, pc, RCL1396
22	B <sub>2</sub> -1	-R.B <sub>2</sub> -b (= R.16, 19, 24A)	nil	Pl. 9, N. 5
23	III-2*	-R.B <sub>2</sub> -f (= R.21)	x	PDR 81 = RCL1386
24	B <sub>1</sub> -2	-R.B <sub>2</sub> -h	+	RCL 1395 = Pl. 9 N. 4
24A	B <sub>1</sub> -2	-R.B <sub>2</sub> -b (= R.16, 19, 22)	nil	pc
25	B <sub>1</sub> -2	-R.B <sub>2</sub> -i	nil	SNC1989 no. 2545 = pc
26	B <sub>1</sub> -2	-R.B <sub>2</sub> -j	+	Rei 21 Row 2 N. 1
27	B <sub>1</sub> -2	-R.B <sub>2</sub> -k	x	SNC 1982 no. 4017, Norweb 166 = W246
28	B <sub>2</sub> -2	-R.B <sub>2</sub> -h (= R.24)	+	pc
29	B <sub>2</sub> -3*	-R.B <sub>2</sub> -g	x	weak mullet 1. of neck W267
30	III-3	-R.IV-1 (= R.33)	Q	SNC1991 no. 170 = 1992 no. 7463
31	III-3	-R.B <sub>2</sub> -m	x	SNC 1973 no. 9911 = Pl. 8 N. 10, pc
32	III-3	-R.B <sub>2</sub> -n	+	pc
33	B <sub>2</sub> -4	-R.IV-1	Q	Rei 21 Row 7 N. 2 & 3, 1104 R 1 N. 2
34	III-4	-R.III-2	Q	Pl. 8 N. 11 Rei 20 Row 5 N. 4
35	III-4	-R.B <sub>2</sub> -o	nil	W 250, Rei 20 Row 5 N. 2
36	III-4	-R.B <sub>1</sub> -4	nil	Rei 20 Row 5 N. 1
37	III-4	-R.B <sub>1</sub> -5	λ	Rei 20 Row 6 N. 2
38	III-4	-R.A-6	+	SNC 1991 No. 171 = pc, RCL 1387, Rei 20 Row 5 N. 3
39	III-4	-R.III-3	Q	Rei 20 Row 6 N. 1
40	III-6	-R.C-a	x	Pl. 8 N. 12 = BM. 1104 Row 1 N. 4
41	B <sub>2</sub> -5	-R.B <sub>2</sub> -p	nil	pc, 1104, Row 2 N. 5
42	C-1*	-R.C-b	+	* on centre of breast pc, PDR 87
43	C-1*	-R.C-c	x	* on centre of breast 1104 Row 3 N. 4, Pl. 9 N. 8
44	C-1*	-R.C-d	+	* on centre of breast Rei 21 Row 2 N. 3, 1104 Row 3 N. 5
45	B <sub>2</sub> -6	-R.B <sub>2</sub> -q	nil	W 258 = Pl. 9 N. 6
46	B <sub>2</sub> -6	-R.B <sub>2</sub> -r	x	pc
47	B <sub>2</sub> -6*	-R.C-e = R.48	+	1104 Row 3 N. 3
48	B <sub>2</sub> -7*	-R.C-e = R.47	+	Pl. 9 N. 7 = pc
49	B <sub>2</sub> -7	-R.B <sub>2</sub> -s	x	pc
50	C-2*	-R.C-e	+	weak * on rt breast PDR86B

## Notes on Table 1

Potter dies 4 & 5 are not distinguished, both are entered as die 4.  
 No. 29 The presence of a mullet not previously noted.

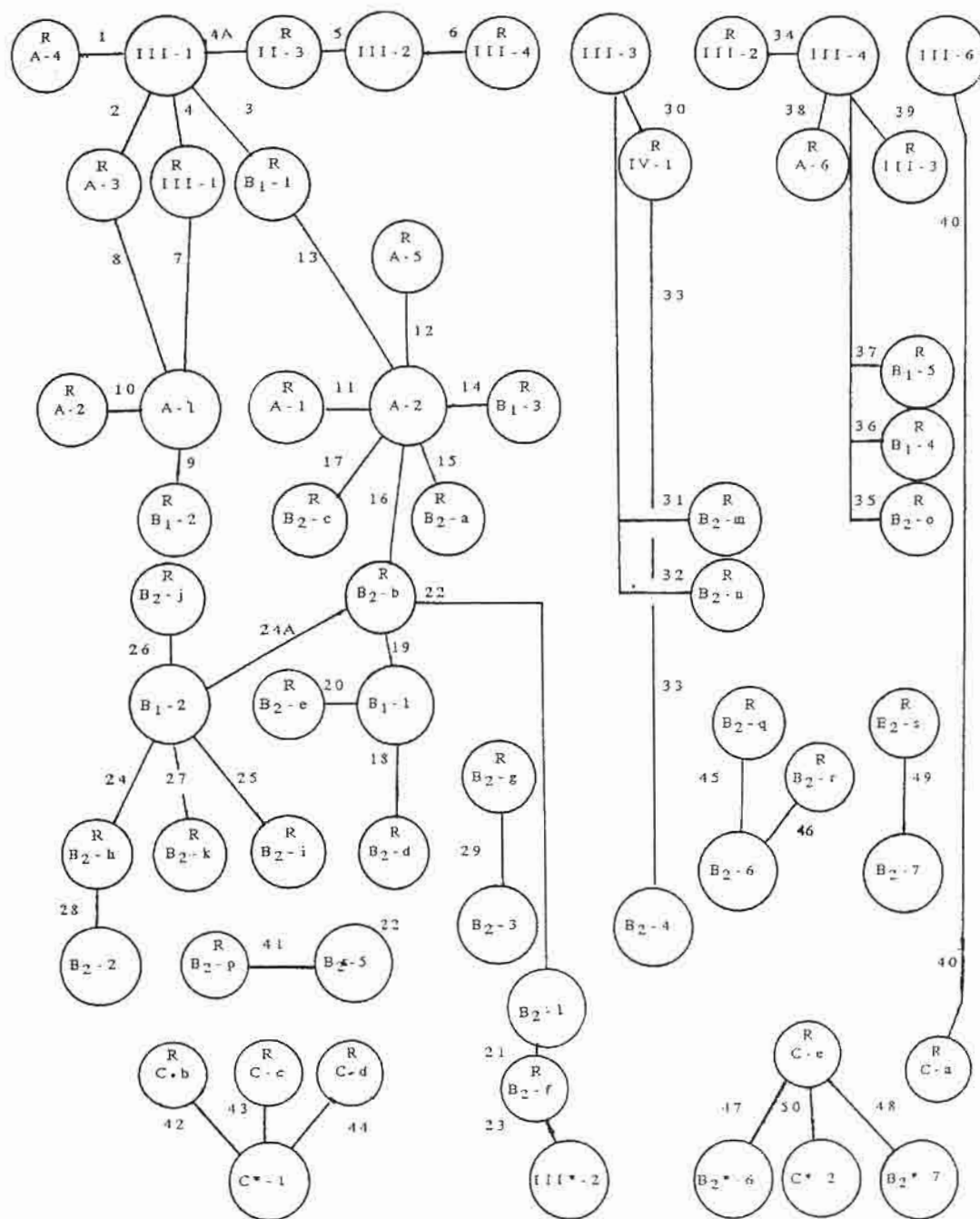


Fig. 2 Chart for groats. Numbers on the lines refer to entries in Table 1. Dies III-2, B<sub>2</sub>-6 and B<sub>2</sub>-7 were used without and with mullet (\*).

#### Features supporting die identities

- 3, 13 reverses have only single saltires in the inner circle and there is a diagonal line across the void in the letter P.
- 16, 19, 22 and 24A reverses all have a comma-like mark between the D of *DEVIN* and the arm of the long cross.
- 21, 23 reverses show a line connecting the left arm of the initial cross to the heading beneath.
- 24, 28 have single saltire stops and the letters O of *LOIN* and *DIVTOR* cut into the intervening beading.
- 42, 43, 44 This obverse is relatively common so is likely to be found with more reverses than noted here.
- 47, 48 reverses show crack lines along the horizontal bar of the long cross.

groats. Die A-1 is used with three reverses. One of these (**Pl. 5, rev. 62**) has the later type B lettering and goes on to be paired with a type B obverse having ten arcs (**Pl. 5, obv. 64**). Die A-2 has only been found with one reverse (**Pl. 5, rev. 63**).

These coins with the low flat crown are followed by a few specimens from each of about twenty obverses having a high crown which fall at the end of this period.<sup>5</sup> One of the puzzles is how so many varieties of half groat can have left so few representatives. These later types not detailed here may have reverses similar or identical with varieties listed below.

TABLE 2: Die pairings on halfgroats, 'i.c.' = initial cross

<i>Pl. No.</i>	<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>	<i>Example(s)</i>
51.	I-1 o rt.	i.c.POSVI*DEVI*ADIVT*IORE* Potter I R.1	W 252. Rei H. 4 no. 1
52.	I-1 o rt.	i.c.POSVII*DEVM*AD*IVTORIEM*MEVM *LON Potter I R.2	Pl. 10, no. 2 = BM
53.	III-2 o l - rt.	POSVIDEV*ADIVTOIRE*ME Tall letters = type C	W 251 = RCL1388, BM Rei H. 4 no. 2
54.	III-2 o l - rt.	*POSVIDEV*AD*IVTORIEM*MEV DON+ Potter III R.3.	Ash.M. Pl. 10, no. 3 Rei H. 4 no. 3 & 5
55.	III-2 o l - rt.	i.c.POSVIDEV*AD*IVTOIRE*MEV Potter III R.4.	Norweb 1348, AHB Rei H. 4 No. 4 & 6, FWM.
56.	III-2 o l - rt.	i.c.POSVIDEV*AD*IVTOIRE*MEV Potter III R.5	BM 1090 R2 N6
57.	III-2 o l - rt.	+POSVII*DEV*ADIVTOIR*EM* Type B letters	pc ex AHB
58.	Do. Mullet on rt shoulder	Duplicate of R.55	PDR 81
59.	New die 10 arc	----IIDEVM*ADIVTORI*----	Pr. Col. ref AHB
60.	A-1 o l , rt.	POSVI*DEV*ADIVTOIRE*ME* Type A letters	Rei A SNC 1992 no. 7464 = RCL 1392
61.	As no. 60	POSVIDEV*ADIVTOIRE*ME* Type A letters	Norweb 1353
62.	As no. 60	POSVIDEV*ADIVTOIRE*ME Type B letters	Pl. 10 no. 4 = W261 = BM
63.	Cl.A die 2 Nothing by crown	POSVI*DEV*AD*IVTOIRE*MEV *LON Type A letters	FWM
64.	Cl.B 10 arc	POSVIDEV*ADIVTOIRE*ME Type B letters	Pl. 10 no. 5 = BM
65.	as no. 64	POSVII*DEV*ADIVTOIRE*ME* Type B letters	Rei B

Note: The Reigate half groats of Henry IV are on BM photo sheet T72 starting at row 3 no. 3.

## The Small Coins

The light pence struck with the London mint signature are rare; they have an annulet left and a pellet right of the crown and Vs on the reverse (W 253 = RCL 1380, **Pl. 5, 66**). A halfpenny is known (W257, **Pl. 5, 67**). There are three pence recorded with the emaciated bust portrait and lettering of Cl A; they have an annulet left and pellet right of the crown. There are two obverse dies; one reading ends ANG (RCL3073, **Pl. 5, obv. 68**) and the other ANGL (Norweb 169). A single halfpenny in the same style was in the Blunt collection. (**Pl. 5, 69**). The use of

<sup>5</sup> E.J. Harris, 'Silver Coinage in the Henry IV-V Period, Part V', *SCMB* 855 (1990), 267-71.



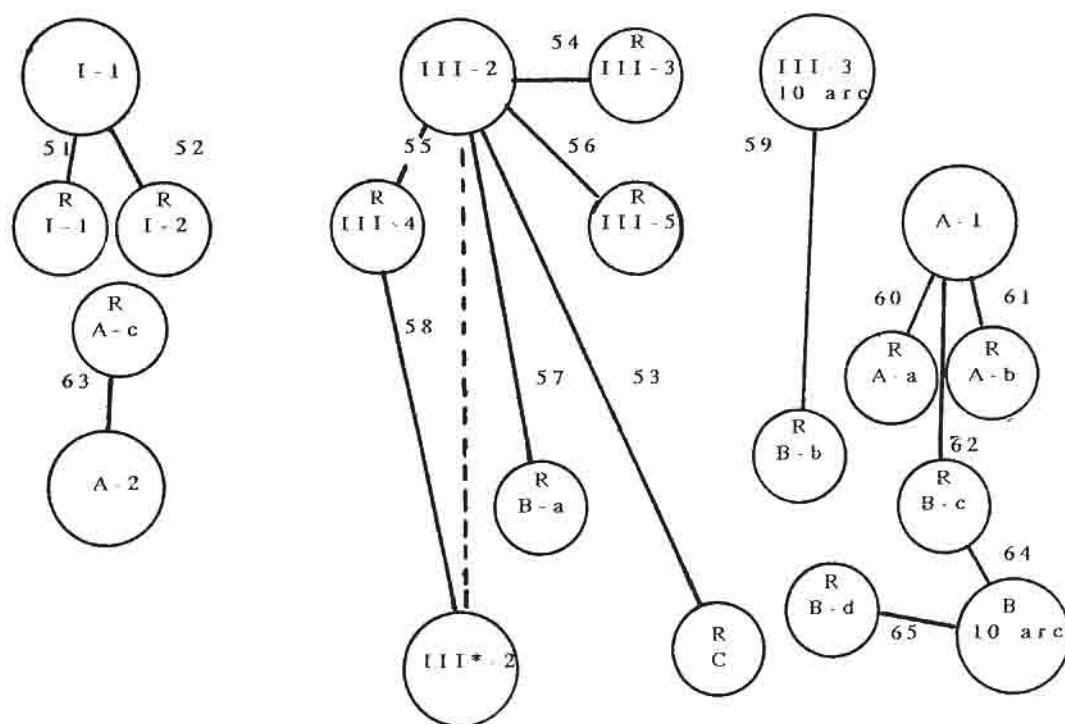


Fig. 3. Chart for halfgroats. Numbers on the lines refer to entries in Table 2. Die III-2 was used before and after a mullet (\*) had been added.

type A letters on the pence continued with a new 'Scowling Bust' having a face with a V-shaped outline and annulet left and pellet right of the crown (W 263 = RCL 1381, **Pl. 5, obv. 70**); this coin shares a reverse with the 'emaciated bust' pence. (There is a pellet in the O of the LON.) Next, on the 'scowling bust' die, a mullet was stamped over the pellet right of the crown. The reverse stays unchanged with CL.A lettering (Fitzwilliam Mus Fig 71)). There is also a re-use of the type III obverse with a mullet now stamped over the pellet (W264 = **Pl. 5, obv. 72**) and a reverse with type B letters and saltires after TAS and DON. The same reverse is used with an obverse having a U-shaped facial outline and annulet left and a mullet over pellet right of the crown (ex PDR 95 = **Pl. 5, obv. 73**). The reverse has a saltire after DON. There are a surprising number of halfpence, some of which presumably belong to this period.<sup>6</sup> **Pl. 5, 74** illustrates an example with weak marks about the crown band. This die or one similar was modified by striking a mullet at the right of the crown (W266 = **Pl. 5, 75**). It has a reverse with type B letters. Here again one sees the addition of a mullet to various dies to strike pence and halfpence without regard to their type.

<sup>6</sup> E.J. Harris, 'Halfpence of the Henry IV-V Period', *NCirc* 96 (1988), 79-80.



# THE HOWARD LINECAR LECTURE 1997

## PEASANTS AND COINS: THE USES OF MONEY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

CHRISTOPHER DYER

THE Society has done me a great honour in inviting me to follow distinguished predecessors in giving the Linecar lecture, but it is rather a daunting task for an economic historian who lacks expertise in numismatics to address such a knowledgeable audience. My theme of 'peasants and coins' is the result of a shift in economic history from an emphasis on production to the study of consumption, or rather to the investigation of the complementary activities of both production and consumption. Numismatists have a long and honourable tradition of researching the production of coins – mints, designs, weights, metals and quantities issued are the basis of the subject. But there has always been an appreciation of the value of understanding the consumption of coins, covering such subjects as their use, circulation and acceptance as money, and this lecture will attempt to contribute to that dimension of the subject.

My title may to some appear to contain a paradox, because peasants are often seen as living within a natural, self-sufficient economy, in which money played a small part. Labour without pay, barter, producing for use rather than sale, consuming the produce of one's own labour, cooperation with neighbours, lending and borrowing – these are all seen as characteristics of the peasant economy, and indeed they can all be found in medieval English rural society. Peasants also used money, and the interest of the subject lies in deciding how they employed it, how important it was to them, and tracing changes in their involvement in the cash economy over time.

Before pressing forward with answers to these questions, we must pause to consider some definitions. 'Peasant' refers to someone involved in small-scale cultivation. In the context of medieval England 'small' usually ranged between a cottage garden and thirty acres (twelve hectares) of land. Holdings, especially in the period after the Black Death of 1348–9, could contain sixty or ninety acres, but their tenants are still best regarded as peasants. Their other characteristics follow from their small-scale land holding, in that they were relatively poor and lacked much political power. They were subordinated in varying degrees to their lords and to the state. Perhaps forty per cent in 1300 were villeins, that is unfree, and therefore owed specific servile obligations, and were subject to their lord's jurisdiction, but the free still paid rents to a lord, and free and unfree alike were expected to contribute to royal taxes. The basic social and economic unit for peasants was the household, which normally in medieval England consisted of the nuclear family, with a servant or two for those with larger holdings. The household provided most of the labour on the land, and lived from the produce. Peasants belonged to larger social groupings, such as hamlets, villages and parishes, and were often involved in collective activities based on them. All of these characteristics combine to suggest

*Acknowledgements.* I am grateful for information provided by Harold Fox, Paul Hargreaves, Yvonne Harvey, Chris Henderson, Emma Jones, Nicholas Palmer and David Rogers. Nancy Moore typed the footnotes and tables, and Andrew Isham drew the figures. Nick Mayhew read the

text at short notice, and while not agreeing with all of my opinions, saved me from error. The officers and members of the society treated me hospitably, and helped me to improve the original lecture with their comments and criticisms.

a society with limited needs for money, but their involvement in 'autoconsumption' (as the French call it) within households and communities did not preclude market contacts. Certainly from the tenth century, and with special intensity from about 1200, peasants were tied into a market system, which was based on a network of towns, of which there were 100 in 1100, and 650 between 1300 and 1540. The commercial world penetrated into the villages, which from an early date were clearly stratified between smallholders who needed to earn money to supplement the produce of their holdings, and the more substantial peasants, who even when they cultivated only twenty acres would hire workers. Many peasants combined agricultural production with work in crafts or other by-occupations, and we find peasant miners, peasant fishermen, peasant weavers and peasant smiths. If we define them in this way peasants account for perhaps sixty to seventy per cent of the late medieval population, and were responsible for the bulk of agricultural production.<sup>1</sup> The 'middle ages' here means the whole period between 400 and 1540, but the discussion will focus on the later medieval period, after 1200.

To begin with the coins themselves, we will look at finds from excavations on settlements, and from other rural contexts, and then in the second half of the lecture attempt to place these in an historical setting. The conventional archaeological view notes that coins are rarely found on village sites, and this scarcity reinforces the conventional wisdom that peasants had limited need for money. The observation needs to be reviewed and revised, which has involved gathering details of published excavations on thirty-three rural settlements where at least one house has been completely excavated.<sup>2</sup> This is following in the footsteps of Rigold, who

<sup>1</sup> The best definition of peasantry is R.H. Hilton, *The English Peasantry in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1975), pp. 3–19. Recent works on aspects of peasant society include: Z. Razi, *Life, Marriage and Death in a Medieval Parish: Economy, Society and Demography in Halesowen, 1270–1400* (Cambridge, 1980); Z. Razi, 'Family, land and the village community in later medieval England', *Past and Present* 93 (1981), 3–36; *The Peasant Land Market in Medieval England*, edited by P.D.A. Harvey (Oxford, 1984); *The Countryside of Medieval England*, edited by G.G. Astill and A. Grant (Oxford, 1988); *The Rural Settlements of Medieval England*, edited by M. Aston, D. Austin and C. Dyer (Oxford, 1989); L.R. Poos, *A Rural Society after the Black Death. Essex 1350–1520* (Cambridge, 1991); *The Agrarian History of England and Wales 1348–1500*, vol. 3, edited by E. Miller (Cambridge, 1991); R.H. Britnell, *The Commercialisation of English Society 1000–1500* (Cambridge, 1993); *Medieval Society and the Manor Court*, edited by Z. Razi and R. Smith (Oxford, 1996).

<sup>2</sup> The English sites in alphabetical order with page references to coin finds, if any: Barrow Mead (Somerset): J. Woodhouse, *Barrow Mead, Bath, 1964 Excavation*, BAR British Series 28 (Oxford, 1976), p. 35; Barton Blount (Derbys.) and Goltho (Lincs.): G. Beresford, *The Medieval Clay-land Village: Excavations at Goltho and Barton Blount*, Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph, no. 6 (London, 1975), p. 79; Beere (Devon): E.M. Jope and R.I. Threlfall, 'Excavation of a medieval settlement at Beere, North Tawton, Devon', *Medieval Archaeology* 2 (1958), 112–40; Burton Dassett Southend (Warwicks.): information from Mr. N. Palmer of Warwickshire Museum Field Archaeology Office; Caldecotte (Bucks.): R.J. Zeepvat, J.S. Roberts and N.A. King, *Caldecotte*, Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society Monograph, no. 9 (Aylesbury, 1994), pp. 176–8; Dinna Clerks, see Houndtor; Goltho, see Barton Blount; Gomeldon (Wilts.): J. Musty and D.J. Algar, 'Excavations at the deserted medieval

village of Gomeldon, near Salisbury', *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 80 (1986), 152–3; Great Linford (Bucks.): D. Mynard and R. Zeepvat, *Great Linford*, Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society Monograph, no. 3 (Aylesbury, 1991), pp. 225–7; Grenstein (Norfolk): P. Wade-Martins, *Village Sites in Launditch Hundred*, East Anglian Archaeology, report no. 10 (Gressenhall, 1980), p. 127; Hangleton (Sussex): E.W. Holden, 'Excavations at the deserted medieval village of Hangleton, part 1', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 101 (1963), 176; J.G. and D.G. Hurst, 'Excavations at the deserted village of Hangleton, part 2', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 102 (1964), 139; Holworth (Dorset): P.A. Rahtz, 'Holworth medieval village excavation 1958', *Proceedings Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society* 81 (1959), 127–47; Houndtor (Devon), Hutholes (Devon) and Dinna Clerks (Devon): G. Beresford, 'Three deserted medieval settlements on Dartmoor: a report on the late E. Marie Minter's excavations', *Medieval Archaeology* 23 (1979), 150; Hutholes, see Houndtor; Lyveden (Northants.): G.F. Bryant and J.M. Steane, 'Excavations at the deserted medieval settlement at Lyveden', *Journal of the Northampton Museums and Art Gallery* 9 (1971), 89–90; G.F. Bryant and J.M. Steane, 'Excavations at the deserted medieval settlement at Lyveden', *Journal of the Northampton Museums and Art Gallery* 12 (1975), 149–50; Martinthorpe (Rutland): J.S. Wacher, 'Excavations at Martinthorpe, Rutland, 1960', *Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society* 39 (1963–4), 1–19; Riptingham (Yorks.): J. Wacher, 'Excavations at Riptingham, East Yorkshire, 1956–7', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 41 (1966), 608–69; Seacourt (Berks.): M. Biddle, 'The deserted medieval village of Seacourt, Berkshire', *Oxoniensia* 26/7 (1961–2), 182–4; Thrislington (Co. Durham): D. Austin, *The Deserted Medieval Village of Thrislington, County Durham, Excavations 1973–74*, Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph, no. 12 (Lincoln,

compiled statistics of coins from excavations, but when he counted the coins from rural sites he combined villages with manor houses.<sup>3</sup> More excavations have been carried out, and more have been published, since his statistics were calculated, so it is now possible to obtain a reasonable sample of coin finds from sites likely to have been inhabited mainly by peasants.

The excavated settlements (Fig. 1) are scattered over England and Wales, with a bias to the midlands and the south-west. This reflects the distribution of deserted or severely shrunken settlements, which offer the best opportunity for excavation as they are not encumbered with modern structures. Archaeologists have tended to choose those where the later houses were built with stone foundations, because they are easier to locate and excavate. Given this initial bias, the sites include a variety of types of settlement, including large nucleated villages, hamlets and isolated farms, the inhabitants of which practised a range of economic activities from primarily arable cultivation in the midlands to the pastoralism of Dartmoor and the Welsh uplands. Some lay near to large towns, and others may have been more remote from commercial centres. A few of them had a brief life in the thirteenth century (when the size of the population and the extent of settlement reached their peak), but most have evidence of occupation in the eleventh or twelfth centuries, and were deserted between 1380 and 1520. A few continued to be inhabited into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Sixteen of the thirty-three sites yielded no coins at all. There is a tendency for these to be located in the south-west and Wales, but sites in the midlands and north have also provided this negative evidence. On the remaining seventeen sites sixty coins and nine jettons of the middle ages have been found, most sites producing only one, two, or three finds, with exceptional numbers from West Whelpington in Northumberland where eight were recovered, Lyveden (Northants.) with nine, and a remarkable seventeen from Westbury (Bucks.). The different numbers of coins found reflect a great variety of factors, many of them relating to the circumstances of the excavation itself, which might have been more likely to recover coins if it was a methodical research excavation using a skilled and motivated labour force, and in the

1989), p. 126; Thuxton (Norfolk): L. Butler and P. Wade-Martins, *The Deserted Medieval Village of Thuxton, Norfolk*, East Anglian Archaeology report no. 46 (Gressenhall, 1989); Tresmorn (Cornwall): G. Beresford, 'Tresmorn St. Gennys', *Cornish Archaeology* 10 (1971), 55-72; Treworld (Cornwall): D. Dudley and E.M. Minter, 'The excavation of a medieval settlement at Treworld, Lesnewth, 1963', *Cornish Archaeology* 5 (1966), 34-58; Upton (Glos.): R.H. Hilton and P.A. Rahtz, 'Upton, Gloucestershire, 1959-1964', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 85 (1966), 124-5; P. Rahtz, 'Upton, Gloucestershire, 1964-1968', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 88 (1969), 108-10; Westbury (Bucks.): R. Ivens, P. Busby and N. Shepherd, *Tattenhoe and Westbury*, Buckinghamshire Archaeological Society Monograph, no. 8 (Aylesbury, 1995), pp. 331-3; West Whelpington (Northumberland): M.G. Jarrett, 'The deserted village of West Whelpington, Northumberland', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 4th series 40 (1962), 189-225; M.G. Jarrett, 'The deserted village of West Whelpington, Northumberland: second report', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 4th series 48 (1970), 357; D.H. Evans and M.G. Jarrett, 'The deserted village of West Whelpington, Northumberland: third report, part 1', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 5th series 15 (1987), 254-5 and fiche; Wharrah Percy (Yorks.): D.D. Andrews and G. Milne, *Wharrah: A Study of Settlement on the Yorkshire Wolds*, Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph, no. 8 (London, 1979), p. 132; Wythemail (Northants.): D.G. and J.G. Hurst, 'Excavations at the medieval village of Wythemail,

Northamptonshire', *Medieval Archaeology* 13 (1969), 167-203.

#### Welsh sites:

Barry (Glamorgan): H.J. Thomas and G. Davies, 'A medieval house site at Barry, Glamorgan', *Transactions of the Cardiff Naturalists' Society* 96 (1970-2), 4-22; H.J. Thomas and G. Dowdell, 'A shrunken medieval village at Barry, South Glamorgan', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 136 (1987), 109, 130; Beili Bedw (Powys): P. Courtney, 'A native-Welsh medieval settlement: excavations at Beili Bedw, St. Harmon, Powys', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 38 (1991), 233-55; Cefn Graeanog (Gwynedd): R.S. Kelly, 'The excavation of a medieval farmstead at Cefn Graeanog, Clynog, Gwynedd', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 29 (1982), 859-908; Gelligaer (Glamorgan): A. Fox, 'Early Welsh homesteads on Gelligaer Common, Glamorgan: excavations in 1938', *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 94 (1939), 163-99; Radyr (South Glamorgan): P. Webster, 'Excavations at Radyr, 1975', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 27 (1977), 320; P.V. Webster and R. Caple, 'Radyr deserted medieval settlement, 1975-8', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 29 (1980), 190-200; Rhossili (Glamorgan): A.F. and J.E. Davidson, H.S. Owen-John and L.A. Toft, 'Excavations on the sand covered medieval settlement at Rhossili, West Glamorgan', *Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies* 34 (1987), 244-69.

<sup>3</sup> S.E. Rigold, 'Small change in the light of medieval site-finds', in *Edwardian Monetary Affairs (1274-1344)*, edited by N.J. Mayhew, BAR 36 (Oxford, 1977), pp. 59-80.

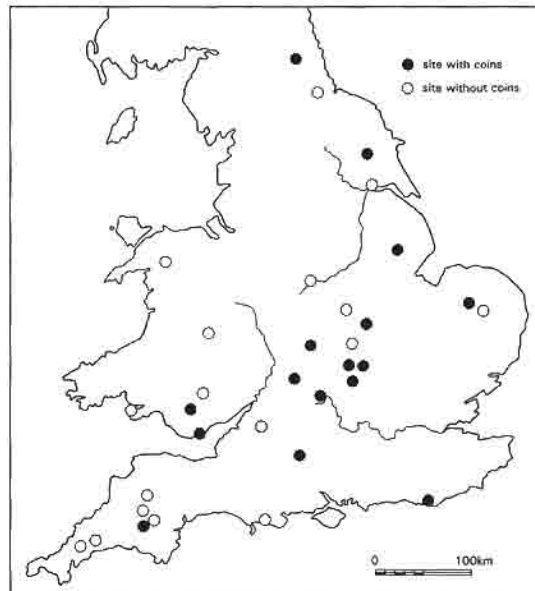


Fig. 1. Excavations of medieval rural settlements.

right soil conditions. An excavation on a large scale, like that at West Whelpington, the only site in the country where a complete village has been dug, is more likely to recover coins than one concentrated on one house. One might hope that the wealth and commercial orientation of the original inhabitants, and the length and intensity of the occupation, would have had some influence on the numbers of coins found, and these could have been factors in the failure of some of the Welsh and south-western sites to produce any coins, as they were not occupied for much more than a century, and were inhabited by rather poor people.

On careful consideration we must conclude that the small number of coin finds from these rural sites are misleading us about aspects of the lives of the peasantry. About 120 houses have been excavated in the thirty-three settlements, and on average they were occupied for two centuries. If we concentrate on rent payments, they can conservatively be estimated to have averaged five shillings per annum in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, when most of the houses were occupied. This would amount to a total of 1,440,000 pence passing through our 120 houses in two hundred years, but as some of this money would have been in the form of halfpennies and farthings, the number of coins should be raised to more than two million. We are therefore finding in excavations about one coin of every 33,000 which came into the hands of the original inhabitants, and this is certainly a minimum figure because rent money formed only part of the cash handled by peasants.

This last point can be demonstrated by the archaeological evidence from our sample of sites. Lyveden, for example, known in the middle ages as Potters' Lyveden, was an industrial village in which iron was smelted and pottery and tiles made. Lyveden ware was widely distributed in Northamptonshire, including the county town, and over the years hundreds of thousands of its pots would have been sold for between a farthing and a penny each.<sup>4</sup> Another

<sup>4</sup> M.R. McCarthy and C.M. Brooks, *Medieval Pottery in Britain AD 900-1600* (Leicester, 1988), pp. 285-9, 430-2.



of the sites from which coins have been recovered was Burton Dassett Southend in Warwickshire, known in the fourteenth century as Chipping Dassett because it had been granted a market by charter. The excavated part of the settlement included houses fronting a street which seems to have served as a market place: one of the buildings was used as a smithy, and finds of pottery and stone slates showed that the inhabitants were involved in exchange with the Nuneaton district, more than twenty miles to the north. Trade worth many hundreds of pounds must have been conducted in and around the ten houses excavated at Chipping Dassett, but only four coins and a jetton were found.<sup>5</sup> Seacourt in Berkshire had no special industrial or trading function, but it lay so near to Oxford – less than two miles as the crow flies – that it must have been heavily influenced by the town's commerce, reflected in the wealth of its copper alloy buckles, brooches, ornaments and other small finds, but there were only two jettons and no coins. Even a remote upland hamlet like Houndtor on Dartmoor would have had commercial contacts. Arable fields lay on the moor nearby, so the peasants provided some of their own subsistence needs by growing oats, but the grazing of sheep and especially cattle was the mainstay of the Dartmoor economy, and the people of the moor would have sold surplus dairy products and wool, and were drawn into the trade in animals in nearby markets, which was ultimately focussed on Exeter. They gained enough cash to buy pottery and no doubt other manufactured goods which have left no trace.<sup>6</sup> In a sense a pastoral settlement like Houndtor was more involved in the market than a lowland village which could grow a wider range of foodstuffs and did not depend so heavily on selling animal products.

The main generalisation that can emerge from the study of coins from rural settlement sites must be that we are dealing with a very small surviving remnant of a once substantial flow of cash. Coins were valuable, and peasants did not lose them, or if they did, they made sure that they found them again. The few that were lost and not recovered are very difficult for us to find, given their size, and the human frailties of even the most vigilant team of excavators. If we compare medieval low status rural settlements with contemporary aristocratic or urban sites, the peasants do not seem so devoid of coins. Some manor houses and moated sites have plentiful finds, such as Writtle in Essex (owned by kings, earls and dukes) with eleven coins, or the not especially opulent but carefully dug residence at Faccombe/Netherton (Hants.) with its thirty-four coins, but other manor houses, through each of which at least £10 must have passed each year, like Wintringham (Hants.), Great Linford (Bucks.) and Thrislington (Durham), have produced a grand total of only ten coins between them.<sup>7</sup> Urban sites can be quite rich in coin evidence, but again even large scale research programmes, like that at King's Lynn, can boast only five coins, and on one of the main sites in Northampton eighteen were found.<sup>8</sup> The towns, and some of the aristocratic sites, have an advantage in the relatively deep occupation deposits in which finds accumulate, which are absent from most rural settlements. Coins therefore were more plentiful in urban contexts and on some high status rural sites than in our villages and

<sup>5</sup> C. Dyer, 'The hidden trade of the middle ages', in C. Dyer, *Everyday Life in Medieval England* (London, 1994), pp. 292–3.

<sup>6</sup> A. Fleming, 'Medieval and post-medieval cultivation on Dartmoor: a landscape archaeologist's view'; C.G. Henderson and P.J. Weddell, 'Medieval settlements on Dartmoor and in West Devon: the evidence from excavations'; J. Allen, 'Medieval pottery and the dating of deserted settlements on Dartmoor'; H.S.A. Fox, 'Medieval Dartmoor as seen through its account rolls', in *The Archaeology of Dartmoor*, edited by D.M. Griffiths, *Proceedings of the Devon Archaeological Society* 52 (1994), 101–17, 119–40, 141–7, 149–71; M. Kowaleski, *Local Markets and Regional Trade in Medieval Exeter* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 293–307.

<sup>7</sup> P. Rahtz, *Excavations at King John's Hunting Lodge,*

*Writtle, Essex, 1955–7*, Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph, no. 3 (London, 1969), pp. 78–81; J.R. Fairbrother, *Faccombe Netherton. Excavation of a Saxon and Medieval Manorial Complex*, British Museum Occasional Paper no. 74 (London, 1990), pp. 436–46; G. Beresford, 'Excavation of a moated house at Wintringham in Huntingdonshire', *Archaeological Journal* 134 (1977), 256; D. Mynard and R. Zeepvat, *Great Linford* (note 2), pp. 225–7; D. Austin, *The Deserted Medieval Village of Thrislington* (note 2), p. 126.

<sup>8</sup> H. Clarke and A. Carter, *Excavations in King's Lynn 1963–1970*, Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph, no. 7 (London, 1977), p. 286; J.H. Williams, *St. Peter's Street, Northampton. Excavations 1973–1976* (Northampton, 1979), pp. 243–6.

hamlets, but the divergence is not so great, and given the generally sparse distribution of medieval coins in excavations, the peasant sites do not seem exceptionally deficient.

Another comparison can be made between historical periods, because a few of our villages were not abandoned until the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Although in their later phases the settlements had diminished in size, their inhabitants were fully involved with money, and were using less valuable copper coins which must have been more subject to loss. At Riplingham (Yorks.) no coins of either the medieval or post-medieval periods were found, and at West Whelpington there were six coins of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, compared with eight from the later middle ages. The village of Great Linford yielded a much greater number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century pieces: there were forty-four, with only four from the middle ages.

If medieval peasants handled many coins, but did not lose them in any number in or around their houses, where else might they be found? One way of pursuing this question is to use the information from local Sites and Monuments Records, and in this case that for Warwickshire has been consulted. This county is ideal for analysis because its SMR is maintained to a very high standard. Its record of coins is based mainly on the finds of metal-detector users, with whom the county officers have built a working relationship which results in a high level of reporting, both in terms of the numbers of discoveries, and the accuracy of the locations. Also three expert numismatists have over the years followed a tradition of detailed identifications of each coin.<sup>9</sup> The rural settlement pattern of the county has been much studied, which allows each find to be located in relation to known villages, hamlets and farmsteads.<sup>10</sup> Some 326 medieval coins have been entered on the SMR or are recorded on enquiry forms, from 103 find-spots. The distribution can be analysed as follows:

<i>In town</i>	<i>Near town</i>	<i>In village</i>	<i>Near village</i>	<i>In field</i>	<i>Manor houses etc.</i>	<i>Total</i>
2	2	23	17	56	3	103

('village' means any rural settlement; 'near' means within 200m.)

Very few finds have been made in towns, mainly because detector users do not operate on town centre sites, which are difficult of access, and contain a mass of metal debris which prevents valuable objects being found. There are surprisingly few chance finds from towns, where one might expect more discoveries by conventional means, during the digging of service trenches or foundations, for example. About forty per cent of finds are reported from villages or hamlets, and their vicinity, but the majority come from modern farmlands which were also fields in the medieval period, at some distance from settlements. Now to some extent this reflects the behaviour of the metal-detector users, who have a preference for working in open country, and are often hoping to find Roman objects in such locations. This creates a very heavy bias towards finds in quite remote places, and therefore we should not make too much of the precise statistics resulting from this highly subjective and unscientific example. On the other hand, the metal-detecting fraternity, who must be accorded a degree of rationality, are motivated by a desire to find objects, especially coins, and would not spend so much time in fields, and return constantly to them, unless they were convinced that this was worthwhile. We can draw the conclusion that a good number of medieval coins are found in fields now, because coins were deposited in fields in the middle ages.

<sup>9</sup> I am very grateful for the generous help of Ms E. Jones, the S.M.R. officer, and general advice and assistance from Ms H. MacLagan and Mr. N. Palmer. The three coin experts are Mr. P. Wise, Mr. D. Symons and the late Mr. W.A. Seaby.

<sup>10</sup> Existing knowledge of the county's settlements is

summed up in C. Dyer, 'Rural settlements in medieval Warwickshire', *Transactions of the Birmingham and Warwickshire Archaeological Society* 100 (1996), 117-32.

<sup>11</sup> J. Newman, 'A possible medieval fair site at the Albany, Ipswich', *BNJ* 64 (1994), 129.

These remote fields might have been unofficial market places or fairgrounds where coins were lost in the course of trade, of which an example has recently been identified near Ipswich.<sup>11</sup> In the case of our Warwickshire find spots, three or four sites have produced such an abundance of coins, sometimes with other metalwork, that trading places are possible interpretations. But in the majority only a few coins, or a single example, have been found, even after repeated searches. The field in which coins have been reported is sometimes covered with ridge and furrow, or is known from documentary evidence to have been cultivated in the middle ages. Perhaps they were lost by those involved in agricultural work? An illustration in the fourteenth-century Luttrell Psalter, which is accurate in its technical details (though it represents peasants in a way acceptable to its aristocratic owner) shows a woman milking sheep who has a purse attached to her belt, suggesting that workers might have brought money into the fields. But most of the others engaged in agricultural tasks depicted in this manuscript, such as ploughmen and harvesters, seem to have carried no purse, which would have been a wise precaution against loss or theft.<sup>12</sup> A more likely explanation relates to the relative cleanliness of peasant houses, which at Wharram Percy (Yorks.) for example show clear signs from their dished floors of having been swept so often and so vigorously that the chalk surface had been worn away.<sup>13</sup> As we have already noted, village sites lack thick occupation layers or pits full of rubbish. The domestic refuse from peasant households was put on the midden or dung hill (muck hillocks as they are called in one Warwickshire document) and spread as fertiliser on the fields. Manuring with domestic refuse is commonly indicated by the scatters of pottery found in field walking, and while it is often concentrated near the settlement, some fields up to a mile away from inhabited houses received these cart loads of dung and rubbish.<sup>14</sup> It must be suggested then that coins in small numbers were lost on floors or in yards, were swept or shovelled with rushes, straw, ashes and other refuse on to the manure heap, and found their way via the dung carts on to the arable fields of the village.

All of this leads to the conclusion that numerous coins were circulating in the countryside, and whether because of loss by workers or through rubbish disposal, many of the single coin finds came from the purses of peasants. Peasants made up a high proportion of those in the fields, and in Warwickshire three-quarters of the arable, even at the height of direct cultivation by lords in the thirteenth century, was being cultivated (and manured) by peasants.<sup>15</sup>

The coins, from both fields and excavations, can throw light on the chronology of coin use. Figure 2 depicts the distribution over time (confined to the period 1180–1544) of the single coin finds from Warwickshire, together with Rigold's sample from excavations on all types of medieval site, and Mayhew's figures from coins notified to the Ashmolean Museum.<sup>16</sup> The three graphs tell the same story, with minor variations. Losses of coins, reflecting the population of coins in circulation, were especially numerous in the case of coins minted between 1279 and 1351. The finds of coins minted after 1351 returned to the same level as in the twelfth and early thirteenth century. If we confine the analysis of the Warwickshire single coin finds to the more closely dated examples, but including the pre-1180 period, fifty-six

<sup>12</sup> J. Backhouse, *The Luttrell Psalter* (London, 1989), pp. 17, 19, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28; on the ideology of the illustrations, M. Camille, 'Labouring for the lord: the ploughman and the social order in the Luttrell Psalter', *Art History* 10 (1987), 423–54.

<sup>13</sup> J.G. Hurst, 'A review of archaeological research', in *Deserted Medieval Villages*, edited by M. Beresford and J.G. Hurst (London, 1971), p. 99.

<sup>14</sup> A. Davison, *The Evolution of Settlement in Three Parishes in South-East Norfolk*, East Anglian Archaeology,

report no. 49 (Gressenhall, 1990), pp. 19–23, 62–3 shows the distribution of pottery from manuring. Similar work has been done in Warwickshire as part of my own survey at Admington parish.

<sup>15</sup> C. Dyer, *Warwickshire Farming 1349–c.1520*, Dugdale Society Occasional Paper, no. 27 (1981), p. 4.

<sup>16</sup> N. Mayhew, 'Modelling medieval monetisation', in *A Commercialising Economy: England 1086–c.1300*, edited by R.H. Britnell and B.M.S. Campbell (Manchester, 1995), pp. 63–4.



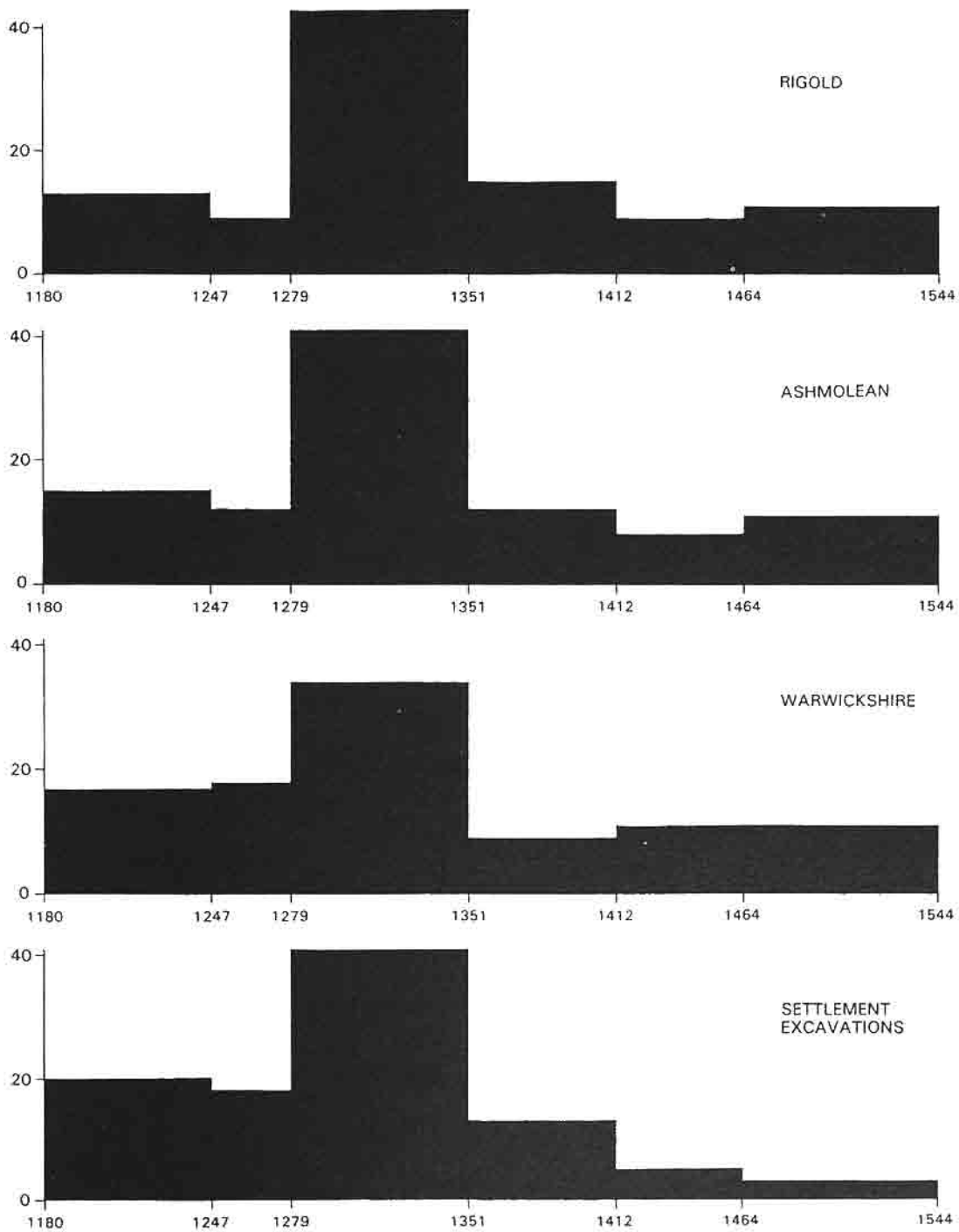


Fig.2. Single coin finds, analysed by date, in percentages. The samples derive from excavations (Rigold and Settlement excavations) and from finds reported to museums (Ashmolean and Warwickshire).

were minted in 1201–50, sixty-three in 1251–1300, and forty-six in 1301–50, accounting in all for more than half of the 262 dated coins. As coins minted in 1279–1351 continued to circulate, and some were therefore lost in the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the graphs exaggerate somewhat the contrast before and after 1351, but coins in the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries must still be judged to have been relatively plentiful. This seems to be generally compatible with the growth in population and commercial activity.<sup>17</sup> To relate the Warwickshire coins to the developments in that county, the period 1200–1348 saw the granting of forty-six market charters, the foundation of about nine boroughs, and the rise of Coventry to become a major town with a population in the region of 5,000.<sup>18</sup>

If we turn to the finds from rural settlement excavations we find a very similar pattern before the mid fourteenth century. Only one pre-Conquest coin has had to be set aside from the analysis to make its date range comparable with the other graphs, which is not surprising because many of the villages and hamlets do not seem to have formed until the tenth, eleventh or twelfth centuries, so there is very little pre-Conquest material of any kind from most of them.<sup>19</sup> The abnormally low figures for the period after 1412 are easily explained, because these settlements were mostly declining or deserted by the fifteenth century, and so they lack pottery and other artefacts from that period. If we excavated rural settlements that had been continuously inhabited, the trend in coin numbers after 1412 would presumably be in line with the pattern shown in the first three graphs. The main lesson that can be drawn from the comparison between the rural settlement finds and the other samples is that coin losses and therefore coin use in villages and hamlets seems to be very similar to that found everywhere. In other words, there was nothing special or peculiar about the peasant use of coins, but they were integrated into the general commercial economy. A geographical integration is also implied by the minting places of coins found on peasant sites. For example, of the seven English coins with identifiable mints found at West Whelpington, the most northerly of the village sites, only one came from the Durham mint, and three had been minted at London, two at Canterbury and one at Bristol.

As well as telling us something of the rise in the circulation of coins, and the peasant participation in that process, finds from settlements ought to be able to give some insights into the use and function of coins. The precise contexts in which they are found are not very informative, because most were not stratified, or they occur in destruction layers. They were residual, having been dropped in one place but moved by building, ditch digging or cleaning to another context. A group which appeared unusually in situ was the tiny hoard of five pennies of Edward I and Edward II put into a wall at West Whelpington, probably in anticipation of a Scottish raid. Hoards are not much found in rural settlements, which may not mean that there were no coins to hoard, but reflects the relative security of the English countryside, as except in the northern counties, peasants were rarely driven from their homes by danger, and if they did leave because of the movements of armies or coastal raids, they were able to return to recover their money.<sup>20</sup>

<sup>17</sup> On the relationship between currency and the economy, see such works as N.J. Mayhew, 'Money and prices in England from Henry II to Edward III', *Agricultural History Review* 35 (1987), 121–32, and N.J. Mayhew, 'Modelling medieval monetisation' (note 16); R.H. Britnell, *The Commercialisation of English Society* (note 1), pp. 102–27.

<sup>18</sup> W.A. Barker, 'Warwickshire markets', *Warwickshire History* 6 (1986), 161–75; M.W. Beresford and H.P.R. Finberg, *Medieval English Boroughs: A Hand-List* (Newton Abbot, 1973), pp. 173–5; M. Beresford, 'English medieval boroughs: a hand-list: revisions, 1973–81', *Urban History Yearbook*

(1981), 64; *The Early Records of Medieval Coventry*, edited by P.R. Coss, *British Academy Records of Social and Economic History*, 11 (Oxford, 1986), p. xlii.

<sup>19</sup> On village formation, see C. Lewis, P. Mitchell-Fox and C. Dyer, *Village, Hamlet and Field, Changing Medieval Settlements in Central England* (Manchester, 1997), pp. 1–30.

<sup>20</sup> I am grateful to Mrs. Y. Harvey for this suggestion. Peasants may have frightened others into depositing a hoard, if the Westminster hoard of c. 1380 was the result of the rising of 1381: J.D.A. Thompson, *Inventory of British Coin Hoards AD 600–1500* (Oxford, 1956), p. 100.

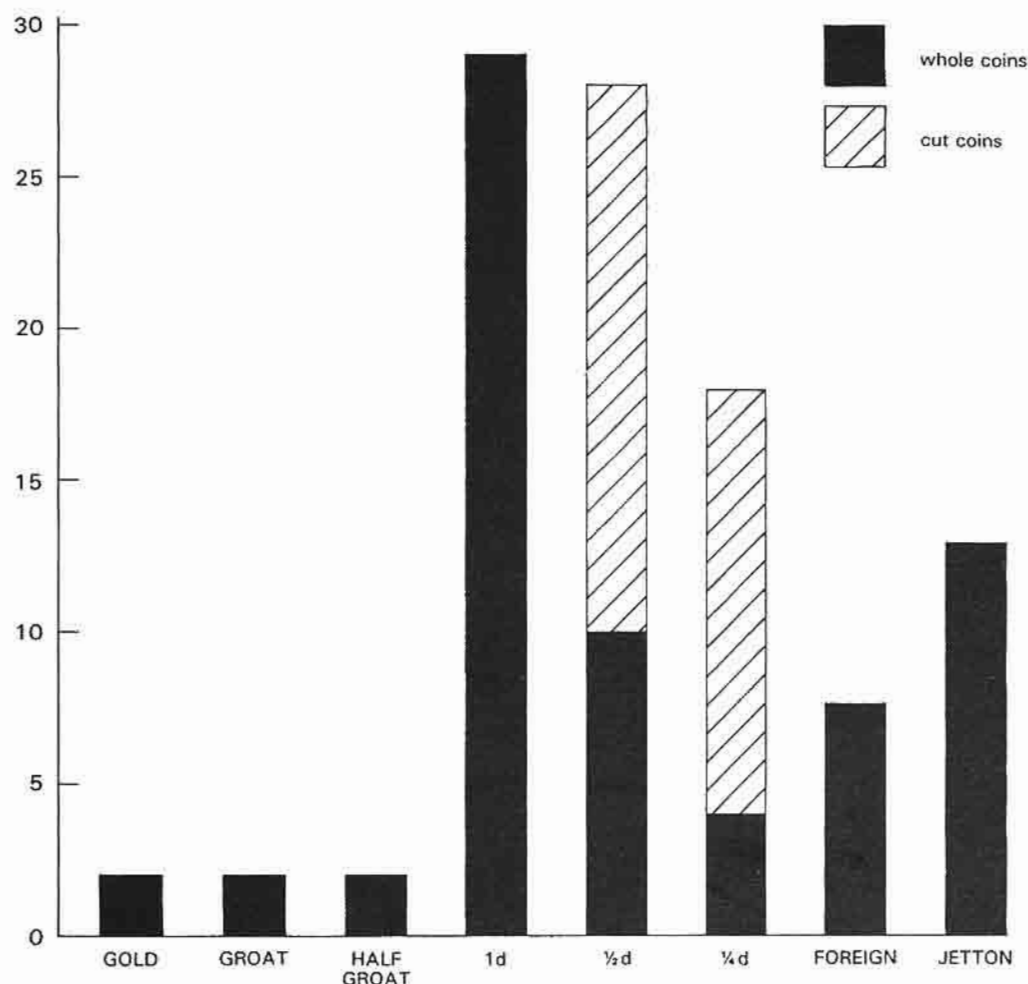


Fig. 3. Types of medieval coins and jettons from excavations of rural settlements, in percentages.

The denominations of coins found on rural settlement sites shown in Fig. 3 tell a familiar story, in the high proportion of halfpennies and farthings, which outnumber the pennies. These high levels of fractions are paralleled by finds from some urban and trading sites, again showing the similarity between the peasants' money economy and that of the rest of society. Some of the foreign coins, such as Scottish halfpence, contributed to the number of coins of small denominations.<sup>21</sup> Everyone needed small denominations for everyday transactions when loaves of bread cost a farthing, and smaller poultry a halfpenny. Ale was often sold at one penny per gallon, and many people could not afford so much. Aristocratic households bought ten herring for a penny, or eggs at a penny for two dozen, but poorer families would wish to buy less.<sup>22</sup> Peasants were selling goods in small amounts, pecks of grain for example, and

<sup>21</sup> E. Besly, 'Short Cross and other medieval coins from Llanfaes, Anglesey', *BNJ* 65 (1995), 57–9.

<sup>22</sup> A good guide to consumer prices for the rich are the

household accounts: e.g. *Household Accounts from Medieval England*, edited by C.M. Woolgar, *British Academy Records of Social and Economic History*, 17 (Oxford, 1992), I, pp. 177–227.

pints and quarts of ale if the household was involved in brewing for sale, or garden and dairy produce where the purchase price for each item would often fall below one penny.

A more controversial problem concerns the use of token coinage, perhaps in buying and selling small quantities of foodstuffs valued even below a farthing, and in local transactions, such as purchases from an ale wife. We know that very low value coinage was much used by medieval peasants on the continent, where it was officially minted.<sup>23</sup> The excavations of late medieval rural sites have produced a number of low denomination Roman coins. In one case an immediately adjacent Roman site explains their presence, but on six sites a total of fifteen coins have been found, not always accompanied by large quantities of pottery of the period, so they do not seem to represent rubbish from earlier occupation that happened to be lying in the earth. We could suppose that they had been found in the fields, and kept as curios, and even circulated among the villagers.

The nine jettons, four from the early fourteenth century, the others of later date, provoke similar speculations. In larger towns their presence can be explained by the many counters needed for casting accounts on a chequer board, but in villages, while peasants would no doubt make calculations, they would not have been complex enough to need accounting equipment.<sup>24</sup> The reeve, the peasant official elected to manage the lord's demesne and collect rents, was subjected to a complex accounting process requiring hundreds of separate sums of money to be recorded in writing soon after Michaelmas, the end of the farming and financial year. He would have been involved in calculations with a chequer board and casting counters which would have belonged to the lord and the higher estate officials, but he may have acquired some jettons and taken them home. Jettons were also used in board games, which are mentioned in court records when they were prohibited, or which appear in the archaeological evidence when board layouts were scratched on to flat stones.<sup>25</sup> We can still contemplate the possibility that within the peasant community the jettons could have circulated; for example they could have been left with ale wives in payment for drink, to be converted into real money once enough had accumulated. Reeves often refer in their accounts to the use of wooden tallies as receipts, and these must also have been used for transactions in the village, and might have become a substitute for coins if they recorded a promise to pay.

Higher denomination coins, such as groats, are underrepresented in the finds analysed in Fig. 3 because when the groats and half groats were most plentiful towards the end of the middle ages, the evidence falls away through the process of desertion, as has already been explained. The single gold coin, a quarter-noble of 1363–9 from Gomeldon in Wiltshire may seem a rather exotic piece, but in view of the sums earned by peasants from the sale of consignments of grain or wool, and the demands of rent payment, better-off peasants are likely to have handled high denomination coins quite often. They usually avoided losing them!

The finds of coins from rural settlements can be considered alongside the documentary evidence for peasants' use of money. The rents owed to lords of manors are especially fully documented, and the progress of money payments, as distinct from labour services or dues in kind, can be summed up in the annual sum paid by a tenant of a standard holding, the yardland

<sup>23</sup> Brucato, *Histoire et archéologie d'un habitat médiéval en Sicile*, edited by J.-M. Pesez (Rome, 1984), 2, pp. 473–96.

<sup>24</sup> I owe the suggestion of the use of Roman coins to Professor P.A. Rahtz. On the vexed question of the use of jettons and tokens, F.P. Barnard, *The Casting-Counter and the Counting Board* (Oxford, 1916), pp. 78–80, 242–5; N.J. Palmer and N.J. Mayhew, 'Medieval coins and jettons from Oxford excavations', in *Edwardian Monetary Affairs*, edited by N.J. Mayhew (note 3), pp. 81–95; M. Prestwich, 'The

crown and the currency. The circulation of money in late thirteenth and early fourteenth-century England', *NC* 142 (1982), 51–65; M. Mitchiner and A. Skinner, 'English tokens, c. 1200–1425', *BNJ* 53 ((184), 29–30. I have had interesting communications on this issue from Mr. D. Rogers.

<sup>25</sup> W.O. Ault, *Open-Field Farming in Medieval England* (London, 1972), p. 139; M. Beresford and J. Hurst, *Wharram Percy, Deserted Medieval Village* (London, 1990), colour plate 6.

or virgate (about thirty acres of arable land). In the tenth and eleventh centuries the usual rent in southern England seems to have been ten pence per annum.<sup>26</sup> When the obligations of a minority of such tenants were commuted to cash in the twelfth century the annual payment varied between two and five shillings, and for some free tenants rents of that order were then fossilised and persisted through the subsequent inflation. Most customary yardland holders in the thirteenth century went through a process of piecemeal transfer of their obligations from labour services into cash payments, in which their works were converted into money rent at a rate of between a halfpenny and twopence for each day's labour. As a result of this process by c. 1300 many customary yardlanders as their principal obligation were paying between seven and twenty-five shillings per annum. The commuting of labour service did not always proceed in one direction, and on some estates labour services were revived or at least maintained in the fourteenth century. Labour services were not ended generally until c. 1400, and by then rents were subject to some overall reductions reflecting the shifts in economy and society after the fourteenth century crisis and the Black Death. The yardland's rent in the fifteenth century usually lay between six and twenty shillings depending on the region.

The fixed annual rent, or rent of assize, represented only part of the tenants' financial obligations, which could include a contribution to an annual tallage and a common fine every year, a fairly frequent but irregular requirement to pay amercements of a few pence to the manor court, and occasionally such sums of money as marriage fines (usually a few shillings), fines to acknowledge the arrival of a new lord (the individual contribution would again be a few shillings), and entry fines as a condition of inheriting or taking over a holding of land, which could amount to many pounds. These extra payments developed during the thirteenth century, and reached their peak around 1300, when a yardlander who was paying off the instalments of a £5 entry fine when most of his labour services had been commuted could well be expected to find more than £2 annually in cash. This period (c. 1290–1340) marks a peak in royal taxation, when better-off peasants would be contributing two shillings in most years to the lay subsidy.

Royal taxes enjoyed other periods of growth in the late fourteenth century (1371–81 in particular) and in the early fifteenth, but the extra charges dwindled as serfdom went into decay, removing marriage fines, and the low demand for land reduced entry fines. Payments to the church, in various dues to the clergy and parish, including some tithes which were paid in cash, and the contribution to the funds of the churchwardens for the building and fittings of the parish church probably increased during the later middle ages.

The importance of these payments from the point of view of a study of peasants and coins is that they were not theoretical obligations, but involved hard cash, because the annual accounts compiled by reeves were based on the sums actually paid. If the reeve failed to collect a rent or fine and pass the sum on to his lord's receiver, he would be found to be in debt at the audit, and would have to pay eventually, even if the money had to come from his own pocket. In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries the accounts usually balanced, so the cash had been gathered. In the same period the final reckoning at the exchequer confirms that almost all of the assessments recorded in the tax lists were actually handed over in the form of coin. In the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a gap developed between obligation and payment, which led to reeves and other officials falling behind: 'it cannot be levied' they explained, and arrears accumulated.

To sum up, the amount of cash paid by each peasant in rents, taxes and church dues increased three or four fold at least during the thirteenth century, and in the century and a half

<sup>26</sup> *The Agrarian History of England and Wales*, 1, A.D. 43–1042, edited by H.P.R. Finberg (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 513–14. The other generalisations on peasant obligations

are based on too many sources to be cited individually though much information will be found in the sources in note 1

after the Black Death was reduced, perhaps by thirty per cent. The number of peasant households doubled during the thirteenth century, and halved in the mid to late fourteenth century, but this did not mean that the total amount needed for rents and taxes was changed so dramatically, as the increase in population before 1300 was especially marked among cottagers and smallholders, who did not pay very substantial rents, and the population decline did not lead to much total abandonment of land, but more to the concentration of rent-paying holdings in fewer hands.

Rents and taxes are therefore valuable evidence, but their importance should not be exaggerated. It is true to say that peasants were forced into the market by the demands of the lords and the state for cash, and that lords and kings founded towns and markets to make it easier for peasants to sell their produce and earn money which could be paid in rent and taxes. Peasants made independent use of the market. By the late thirteenth century they had entered into commodity production; they collectively sold more produce than did the lords from their large demesnes, but also put a higher proportion of their crops on the market than the lords.<sup>27</sup> They responded to demand and grew crops that would give them the best returns, and acquired the most convenient transport, horse drawn carts, for carrying goods to market. At the other end of village society were the cottagers and landless, who increased in number in the thirteenth century, but all they had to sell was their labour, which before 1348 gave them few rewards, though they contributed to commerce as workers in rural industry and by setting up as petty traders. They could not grow their own food, so they were more involved in the cash economy than peasants with holdings of middling size.

The more substantial peasants sold not just the corn, wool, cheese and animals necessary to pay their rents, but also a surplus of goods which enabled them to gain money for their own benefit. They used it to buy land, because gaining a new holding often involved a payment to the outgoing tenant as well as the lord's entry fine. They paid for their houses and agricultural buildings, the materials and labour for a house costing at least £2 in c. 1300, and £3 or £4 in the fifteenth century. They bought animals, equipment for farming and the household, and clothing. In earlier times peasant woman wove their own cloth, but by the thirteenth century it was mostly purchased, at a cost of perhaps two to three shillings for a garment, and six pence for a pair of shoes. Food was bought, especially by the smallholders who could not grow on their few acres all of their needs, and as before 1348 they represented almost a half of the rural population, and even more in East Anglia, their grain purchases alone in a large village could collectively be worth £20. The peasants who obtained their grain and dairy produce from their own holdings would buy sea fish, and even those who brewed their own ale would find it convenient to buy from neighbours on occasion.<sup>28</sup>

The size of the cumulative peasant demand, and proof of the quantity of cash that they spent, can be judged from the many goods which were clearly not home-made which are listed in inventories of their possessions, from carts to bed sheets. A similar picture emerges from the variety of manufactured goods, from pots to nails, found in settlement excavations. The hundreds of peasant houses surviving, especially from the century and a half after 1370, a mere fraction to reflect the original surge of building, show that peasants employed skilled carpenters in considerable numbers.<sup>29</sup> We cannot explain the economic basis of the 650 towns, especially the 600 small towns with a combined population of almost half a million people by 1300, unless we presume that their artisans and traders made their living by supplying the

<sup>27</sup> R.H. Britnell, *The Commercialisation of English Society* (note 1), pp. 117–23.

<sup>28</sup> C. Dyer, *Standards of Living in the Later Middle Ages. Social Change in England c.1200–1520* (Cambridge, 1989), chapter 6.

<sup>29</sup> Houses in Kent: S. Pearson, *The Medieval Houses of Kent*, Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England (London, 1994), p. 68 but also in the Midlands as is evident from the dates of cruck houses in recent issues of *Vernacular Architecture*.



needs of a very wide body of consumers, among whom the peasants figured prominently. Indeed the connection is well-documented in the pleas of debt and detained chattels in the borough court records which arose from purchases of goods and services by rural customers.<sup>30</sup> We cannot trace changes in peasant expenditure with any precision, but we can be sure that it was increasing rapidly, judged from the pace of foundation of small towns, between 1180 and 1310, reflecting the greater number of households, and the growing market orientation within each household. In the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the numbers of households declined, but the scale of their production increased, as tenant land was shared among a smaller number of tenants, and the demesnes were leased, often to peasant farmers. Spending per head tended to increase.

Peasants were involved in exchange, but we should recognise that this did not always require the use of coins, and certainly not the immediate handing over of the full payment. Most sales or purchases, especially for sums in excess of ten shillings, were made in instalments. An entry fine of thirty shillings, for example, agreed by Richard Meleward of Castlemorton in Worcestershire, when he took a yardland on 24 March 1360, was to be paid to the lord of the manor in three equal portions of ten shillings on 21 September 1360, 25 March 1361, and 21 September 1361. Staged payments applied when peasants and rural artisans bought from one another. When John son of Robert Kenyng of Blickling in Norfolk bought twelve ells of woollen cloth on 19 June 1316, he paid six shillings immediately, and promised to pay the other six on 1 August, but failed to do so and was taken to court. When peasants sold their produce, they received their money in instalments. In the summer of 1501 John Smyth from north-east Gloucestershire, sold seven tods of wool (the fleeces of about a hundred sheep) for £3 16s. 2d. to Thomas Heritage, a local wool merchant. He received at first 'earnest money' of twenty shillings to seal the bargain, and then Heritage paid him ten shillings on 30 November, twenty at Easter 1502, and another twenty at Whitsun, so by the time of the next sheep shearing, 6s. 2d. had still not been paid. This was one of Smyth's main sources of cash, so he too was presumably paying his bills slowly.<sup>31</sup>

If everyone in a neighbourhood was delaying payments and working on credit, they could find that their exchange of goods and services balanced approximately, and at the end of a year could draw up a 'counter' and find that money owed for wages, for example, was cancelled by the purchase of an animal, and a small cash payment would settle their differences. These labyrinthine networks of credit and their eventual settlement are recorded in the account books of lords who might become involved when they employed local labour, and these presumably represented fragments of a more extensive system in the less well-documented peasant world.<sup>32</sup> Barter among peasants and artisans occasionally surfaces in pleas before the manor courts. At Crowle in Worcestershire in 1374 Thomas Symond brought a plea of detention of chattels against William Smiht, alleging that he was detaining a tunic worth two shillings and a pan valued at seven pence. Smiht (who was probably a working smith) admitted the debt for the tunic, but claimed that the pan was worth only four pence for which he had paid by delivering horseshoes to Thomas.<sup>33</sup>

Exchange in peasant society was often conducted without much cash at all. Labour was rewarded with payment in kind, whether with sheaves in the harvest field, or meals as part

<sup>30</sup> C. Dyer, 'Market towns and the countryside in late medieval England', *Canadian Journal of History* 31 (1996), 17–35.

<sup>31</sup> Westminster Abbey Muniments, 21122; 12258, fo. 2v.; Norfolk Record Office, NR5 10115 22F6.

<sup>32</sup> C. Dyer, 'The consumer and the market in the later middle ages', in C. Dyer, *Everyday Life in Medieval England* (note 5), pp. 276–7.

<sup>33</sup> Worcester Cathedral Library, C505 (I owe this reference to Dr. P. Hargreaves).



of the reward of building workers. Servants received their keep, accommodation and clothing and a little money. Peasants rented land from one another for a share of the crop. Old people arranged for their retirement by surrendering their holding in return for a room, their food, and some clothing; money was only occasionally mentioned as part of the pension. Economic relationships within the village depended on a very complicated web of kin and neighbours, some rich and some poor. Interaction between them can be seen as based on neighbourly cooperation and charity, by which tools might be loaned, or food and money advanced in hard times. Alternatively the actions of the better-off can be judged more harshly as loans were made for profit, or patronage was offered to the poor in the expectation of reciprocal benefits, such as cheap labour, returned in grateful deference.<sup>34</sup>

We gain the impression then that peasants used cash, but also often found alternatives ways of conducting exchange, and relied a great deal on credit which allowed them to delay or even to avoid handing over money. They had 'cash flow problems', and at any one time owned relatively small sums. When goods and chattels were listed in inventories, coins were often omitted, and we do not know if this was because they were not regarded as eligible for valuation, or if there were none, or if relatives had spirited the cash away before the officials or appraisers arrived. Table 1 is therefore confined to a small sample of lists of possessions which we know were intended to include coins. One notes the irony that the people with inventories in the manorial courts, who were relatively poor in terms of land and goods, had more cash than the substantial husbandmen and yeomen for whom we have will inventories. Special circumstances explain the relatively large sum of sixteen shillings found in the purse of the landless Richard Holy, who was drowned in the Severn estuary on his way to Bristol, possibly intending to make a large purchase for another person, or even migrating to the town with his life's savings!

TABLE 1: Some peasant inventories

## Probate inventories

<i>Date</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Value of goods</i>	<i>Value of debts</i>	<i>Cash</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
1417	John Rede 'shepherd'	Soham, Cambs.	£9 17s 11½d	+ £1 11s 11d + £4 3s 6d*	5s 8d	PRO. PROB2/1
1464	John Jakson	Grimston, Yorks.	£10 13s 1d	+ 15s 2d - £3 7s 4½d	2d	Borthwick Institute, York, D&C 1464
1468	John Hall, husbandman	Holgate, Yorks.	£8 15s 10d	+ 4s 0d - £2 3s 1d	6d	Borthwick Institute, D&C 1468
1489	John Robynson, yeoman	Middlesex	£28 15s 2d	+£15 10s 0d	4d	PROB2/34
1494	John Gaythird, husbandman	Acomb, Yorks.	£16 14s 5d	+£16 6s 4d - £9 13s 1½d + owed to testator - owed by testator *desperate debt	0	Borthwick Institute, D&C 1494

<sup>34</sup> These issues are discussed in R.H. Hilton, *The English Peasantry in the Later Middle Ages* (note 1), pp. 37-53;

R.M. Smith, 'Kin and neighbours in a thirteenth-century Suffolk community', *Journal of Family History* 4 (1979), 285-312.

**Inventories from manorial court rolls**

<i>Date</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Goods</i>	<i>Cash</i>	<i>Ref.</i>
1404	John Pym (felon)	Chaddesley Corbett, Worcs.	cow & calf, bullock, coverlet, posnet, robe, sheet	2s 0d	SBT <sup>1</sup> DR5/2753
1451	Richard Holy	Ripple, Worcs.	cow & calf, pair sheets, green robe, chest	16s 0d	HWCRO <sup>2</sup> 899:24 BA 5561
1472	William Heywood (felon)	Whitstones, Worcs.	green robe, doublet, pair shoes, shirt	1s 0d	HWCRO 009:1,175 BA2636

<sup>1</sup> Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Record Office, Stratford-upon-Avon

<sup>2</sup> Hereford and Worcester County Record Office

Other sources occasionally reveal that peasants had accumulated quite large sums, like the £3 in pennies which Walter Byrte of Kempsey (Worcs.) claimed had been stolen from his house in 1498, or the £3 6s. 8d. listed among the possessions of Matthew of Treveggen of Helston-in-Triggshire (Cornwall) in 1351.<sup>35</sup> But the impression gained from inventories that peasants owned few actual coins at any one time is confirmed by William Harrison's description of ale house conversations recalled by old men in the 1580s, and probably therefore referring back to the 1520s. He tells us that a farmer or husbandman might 'in a bravery' show his drinking companions the content of his purse, 'and therein a noble or six shillings in silver' and none of them would be able to 'lay down so much against it'.<sup>36</sup> Both this anecdote and the inventories tell us then that men of substance in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries would have had few coins at a time. They were however heavily involved in credit arrangements, both money owed to them and by them, and the will inventories impress us with the information that debts owed to a peasant could amount to a high proportion of the valuation of his goods. Money which did come into their hands did not rest there for long, but had to be used to pay another instalment to creditors who might become impatient. The flow of credit and cash depended on the season, with many payments being made or promised in the autumn. Wage earners must have found it easier to balance income and expenditure after they had earned good money in the harvest, but slipped into debt in the early spring when work was not so plentiful and food prices were rising.

The meagre archaeological evidence for coins, and the revelation that a yeoman could die leaving four pence in his purse, might revive the impression that in the peasant world a natural economy prevailed. This can be rebutted by the evidence already discussed for rent payments, peasant production for the market, and peasant consumption. The litigation in manor courts shows clearly the hard-headed pursuit of money among peasants. In difficult times, such as the famine of 1315–18, better-off peasants pursued debtors in order to recover the cash value of loans of grain, and damages too, which have a strong resemblance to interest payments. If it was necessary those who had slid into debt had to lease or sell land to raise the cash.<sup>37</sup> Peasants desired to acquire money, and they thought in monetary terms. They could put a value on anything, as the court rolls contain claims for compensation for trespasses, for example for the value of grass eaten by a straying animal, or on a more abstract level,

<sup>35</sup> Hereford and Worcester County Record Office, ref. 705:4 BA 54; J. Hatcher, *Rural Economy and Society in the Duchy of Cornwall 1300–1500* (Cambridge, 1970), pp. 255–6.

<sup>36</sup> R.H. Tawney and E. Power, *Tudor Economic Documents*

(London, 1924), 3, pp. 70–1.

<sup>37</sup> P.R. Schofield, 'Dearth, debt and the local land market in a late thirteenth century village community', *Agricultural History Review* 45 (1997), 1–17.

damages for the harm done by defamation. The credit network, with its bartering of goods and services, and periodic 'counters' when the balances were reckoned, depended on every exchange being given value in money, so that the economy with limited use of cash ultimately depended on the existence of cash.

Peasants regarded the handing over of a coin as a way of signalling an obligation, or the membership of a community, like the tithing penny paid to the lord of the manor to acknowledge his jurisdiction, or the penny offered by everyone, including servants, to the church at the principal feasts, or the penny that every parishioner contributed to the church tithes, or the penny that even the poor paid to the vill's tax when (after 1334) it was administered by the villagers.<sup>38</sup> In the escapist fantasy of the Robin Hood ballads, which may not have been written exclusively for peasants but were certainly enjoyed by them, the hero's life in the greenwood away from the workaday world does not prevent him from being very money conscious, and the running theme in the 'Little Gest of Robin Hood', the earliest of the ballads, is the problem of the debts of a knight, and foreclosure on a mortgage, which any peasant would immediately have understood. We should not think of the history of the English peasantry as one of harmonious self-sufficient communities broken apart in modern times by greed and acquisitiveness. The use of money had developed to a high level in the thirteenth century, and peasants had learnt to live with credit and problems of cash flow well before village society was polarised between the 'middling sort' and the poor labourers; the open fields based on cooperation and discipline among the cultivators survived for centuries after the advent of markets in agricultural produce and land. Indeed, the very active village communities at the end of the middle ages were vigorous money raisers who spent large sums on collective projects such as the building and ornaments of the parish church. The credit system which enabled so much exchange to proceed without cash payments was based on the high level of trust prevailing within the community. Only a few transactions within each village are known to us because they led to litigation in the manor court. The great majority of obligations were discharged, and most disputes must have been settled through neighbourly pressure outside the courts.

Late medieval peasants then owned and used coins, were embedded in a market economy, and were money conscious. The belief that they were insulated from monetary fluctuations by their self sufficiency can no longer be advanced with assurance. The great expansion in the amount of silver in circulation from about 1170, with the consequent price rise, played their part in stimulating the peasants' economy, though population growth, the development of trade and the changes in lordship were also important influences.<sup>39</sup> There is less justification for the belief that the decline in the money supply (the 'bullion famine') lay behind the changes in rural society in the late fourteenth and middle decades of the fifteenth century. The evidence for single coin finds (Fig. 2) which shows such a large fall in coin numbers should be qualified by the change in the denominations in circulation, as groats and gold coins of the late fourteenth and fifteenth century were more valuable than the earlier pennies, halfpennies and farthings. Admittedly for practical purposes peasants in particular would have felt the lack of usable coins, as gold, which formed a relatively important part of the stock of coins in the late fifteenth century, was not well suited to their needs. But peasants do not seem to have suffered greatly from a lack of a convenient medium for exchange, as the chronology of the fall in the money supply does not seem to coincide very precisely with the ups and downs of the rural economy, which was doing rather well during the first phase of the 'bullion famine'

<sup>38</sup> C. Dyer, 'Taxation and communities in late medieval England', in *Progress and Problems in Medieval England. Essays in honour of Edward Miller*, edited by R. Britnell and J. Hatcher (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 188–9.

<sup>39</sup> Mayhew, 'Money and prices in England from Henry II to Edward III' (note 17); P. Spufford, *Money and its Use in Medieval Europe* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 240–63; R.H. Britnell, *The Commercialisation of English Society* (note 1), pp. 102–27.

towards the end of the fourteenth century. Peasants by 1400 were not increasing their bartering arrangements, but becoming more involved in the use of money than their predecessors of a century earlier in their rent payments, which were now wholly in cash with the almost complete commutation of labour services. If they were suffering serious hardship because all their spare cash was going to pay rents one might expect to find more casualties among the market towns where their custom provided a living for the artisans and traders. Small towns lost population, and some declined seriously at various times between 1340 and 1520, but the urban network remained remarkably stable during this apparently serious crisis of the commercial economy. And while peasants were undoubtedly confronted by problems of falling or stagnant prices of grain and wool, they do not seem to have been wholly defeated by them, but made sensible adjustments by switching to products which gave a better return. In any case the sharp drop in population meant that for much of the time after 1349 there was more coin per head in circulation than in the thirteenth century.<sup>40</sup>

Medieval coins were minted by kings for the use of their subjects, especially peasants. The coins that still survive spent a good proportion of their circulating lives passing through the hands of peasants, and many of those that are now found in fields as well as in deserted village sites had peasants as their last owners. Money was partly a means of oppression, designed to make rent and tax payments as convenient as possible for the rich and powerful. But peasants were adaptable and flexible enough to put the market to their own use, as sellers of product and consumers. Peasant communities were not destroyed by the rising forces of the market in the thirteenth century, nor damaged by the reduced supplies of coins in the mid fifteenth century. Coins and peasants were compatible.

<sup>40</sup> J. Day, 'The Great Bullion Famine of the fifteenth century', in J. Day, *The Medieval Market Economy* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 1–54; J.I. Kermode, 'Money and credit in the fifteenth century: some lessons from Yorkshire', *Business History Review* 65 (1991), 475–501; R.H. Britnell, *The*

*Commercialisation of English Society*, pp. 179–96; N.J. Mayhew, 'Population, money supply and the velocity of circulation in England, 1300–1700', *Economic History Review* 48 (1995), 238–57; E. Gemmill and N. Mayhew, *Changing Values in Medieval Scotland* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 361–81.

# THE COMMONWEALTH NAVAL MEDALS FOR 1653, BY SIMON

MARVIN LESSEN

FOUR papers on Commonwealth naval medals were published in the *Numismatic Chronicle* during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Authorship began with Hawkins, followed by Nightingale and Henfrey,<sup>1</sup> and the works improved in their detail as more public records were uncovered. Later, Hawkins's *Medallic Illustrations* (MI) provided classifications and summaries,<sup>2</sup> in what proved to be the finale of the subject in the numismatic literature, and where hard rules became established. But they all failed to see Simon's accounts for the 1653–4 medals, which may have been available even before their obscure mention when the *Calendars* appeared in print, accounts crucial enough to force a dramatic change to the picture. Much more thorough was Mayo, whose book on military medals incorporated descriptions from MI, complete *Calendar* entries, and illustrations.<sup>3</sup> However, final credit must go to the historian, Oppenheim, for using the Simon records,<sup>4</sup> reproduced here as Appendix A, and to Dr Capp for finding and researching them for this writer. Except for occasional useful data in sale and exhibition catalogues, other writings that include or refer to the subject have nothing to recommend them.

The present paper is concerned with the so-called Blake medals,<sup>5</sup> those gold awards authorised for navy officers at the successful conclusion of the last of the three great naval

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<sup>1</sup> Edward Hawkins, 'Naval honorary medals', *NC* 1st (old) Ser. 13 (1850/1), 95–110, read 23 May 1850, covers all of the naval rewards from 1649–53, only the last of which relates to

this present paper. He is referred to frequently here as Hawkins 1850, and is not footnoted again. B. Nightingale, 'Thomas Rawlins, and the honorary medals of the Commonwealth', *NC* 1st (old) Ser. 13 (1850–1), 129–133, who disputed Hawkins on the 1650 Wyard naval reward. Henry W. Henfrey, 'Historical notes relating to the naval honorary medals of the Commonwealth', *NC* 2nd (New) Ser. 15 (1875), 81–4, who used state papers records. H. W. Henfrey, 'Supplementary note on the naval medals of the Commonwealth', *NC* 2nd (New) Ser. 16 (1876), 158–60, discussed the 1649 medal only. The *Calendars* only appeared shortly afterwards.

<sup>2</sup> Hawkins, Franks and Grueber, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (1885), vol. i, pp. 398–400 and folio plates xxxv–xxxvi. This is the work of Hawkins, who died in 1867, and is mostly taken from his printed, but unpublished *Numismatica Britannica*, (1852), where the medals are NB 239/16, 240/17–19, in the same order as MI. Information was provided by Mark Blackburn where this, along with Hawkins's ms plates, *The Medals of Britain and its Dependencies Chronologically Arranged... by Edward Hawkins, Volume I, 1833*, are both at the Fitzwilliam Museum. This naval section of the published MI was already obsolete when it appeared in print, adding only a few locations for these medals to what was in NB in 1852; otherwise it is the same.

<sup>3</sup> J. H. Mayo, *Medals and Decorations of the British Army and Navy* (1897), vol. 1, pp. 25–34 and plate 9.

<sup>4</sup> Michael Oppenheim, *A History of the Administration of the Royal Navy* (1896), reprinted 1988, p. 328, was apparently the first to access the copies of Simon's accounts in the Admiralty Minute Books, mentioned in this paper in Appendix C, and he also used originals of the State papers.

<sup>5</sup> Simon's small naval medals of 1649–50 were discussed only briefly in M. Lessen, 'The Cromwell Dunbar medals, by Simon', *BNJ* 51 (1981), 112, as well as in the footnote 1 references.



battles of the First Dutch War (Portland, Gabbard, and finally Texel on 31 July 1653), nominally under Robert Blake as the senior rank. February and March of 1654 saw the most important of the medals finished and probably issued; the others were completed in June and distributed over the following months, although one additional medal was made as late as 1656. The medals take three forms, in order of rank and monetary value, and traditionally they were known as: the 'admirals' with the elaborate border of trophies (MI 398/26), previously thought to be four specimens for the fleet admirals, which is only partly true; the 'flag officers' with a smaller border of laurel leaves (MI 399/27), previously thought to be four specimens for the flag officers, but this is not so; and the borderless 'captains or officers' (MI 400/28 and 400/29), wrongly thought to be of an unknown quantity.

Those designations will now be changed, with nomenclature to include Simon's own terminology (underlined) as follows:

MI 398/26: *Trophy Large Border (TLB)*. Nine of these medals were issued in 1654 with chains of various weights to the four admirals of the fleet, and to four or five flag officers, and probably a tenth was issued two years later. In addition, nine medals without chains went to an unknown category of recipients. The medal itself was worth about £8 in gold. Three of the nineteen examples have survived, and eight recipients of chain medals can be named.

MI 399/27: *Laurel Lesse Border (LLB)*. There were seventy of these medals with less of a border issued in 1654, to an unknown category of recipients, but which could have focused on the more senior ship's captains. None had a chain. The medal was worth just under £6 in gold. Two of the seventy can be traced, and one recipient named.

MI 400/28 & 29: *Plaine Borderless (PB)*. Eighty of these medals were issued in 1654, to an unknown category of recipients, who probably included less senior captains and captains of hired armed merchantmen as well as lower grade officers. None had a chain. Included in this group is MI 400/29: 'Saving Ye Trivmph', a *Plaine Borderless* medal identical to the others, except for its unique engraved reverse inscription that was done by Simon. It was issued in 1654 without a chain to an unknown person from the *Triumph*, and it exists today. The medal was worth a little over £3 in gold. Between seven and ten of the eighty have survived, and five to eight recipients can be named.

There were thus a total of 169 gold medals, ten with chains, 159 with a ribband instead, and each came with a case.<sup>6</sup> No ribband, and just one case has survived.

Only gold was used for the medals; those seen today in some other metal are not originals. Undoubtedly Simon made pewter or lead trial test strikings, as he often did, but none are known to have survived. From the still-extant cracked reverse die of the Trophy Large Border medal some uniface restrikes in lead, white metal, and possibly silver were made in the eighteenth century. Two-sided silver specimens are eighteenth-century cast copies made for collectors or for display purposes.

## The Tools

The main conclusion to be drawn about the mechanical procedures is that a separate pair of dies was used for each of the three medals. All three obverses (centres) are identical, as are all

<sup>6</sup> Oppenheim (note 4) p. 328, discussed Commonwealth naval medals and rewards, and commented that the government was never unduly liberal in dealing with naval men. '... during 1652-4, but the whole number of medals for the war was only 169; of these 79 were small ones, and may have been intended for the seamen although, as they were all of gold, it is unlikely. Nine of the larger ones were with chains, the smaller weighed 18

dwt. 11 gr. each, and the total cost was £2060 [really 2012]. One alone had "the service done in the *Triumph* expressed on it". His reference to *Add. MSS* 9305, f. 155 should have been to f. 157. Undoubtedly taken from Oppenheim, but not referenced and confusing, was Milford Haven, in his *British Naval Medals* (1919), p. 386, and more recently in J. R. Powell's, *Robert Blake* (1972), p. 246, with similar figures, but an improper reference.

three reverses (centres), and this includes such characteristics as metal flaws, certainly noticeable on the reverse, and the three forms of Simon's signature. Usually this would imply a single pair of dies, but the different borders make this impossible. The one existing die (Trophy Large Border reverse) shows that the elaborate border and the provision for a loop were integral to the die, and that clinches the fact that it could not have been used to make the other types. Loops were also integral to the other dies. To have made multiple dies of identical design required the use of full punches. That is, Simon sculpted the entire design in relief onto a single punch, sans border, and used that punch to create a die, adding the border in the die itself, possibly by hand engraving as opposed to punching, although it is admitted that both border sides are almost identical. It was usual for Simon to carve punches for the major portion of the design, hand finish the resultant, punched die with minor embellishments, and punch the letters separately. Here, there was no lettering with which to contend, and the reverse battle scene would not have lent itself to being built from multiple punches, nor would the obverse anchor and rope. No hand-engraved modifications are obvious in any of the dies; the punch was therefore the complete final design. Using a punch to sink a matrix in order to raise another punch was a method Simon may never have undertaken and, in this case, it would have been redundant. It follows that he made a large master punch for each of the two faces in order to create multiple dies directly from them. Therefore, the complement of tools would have been one obverse punch, one reverse punch, three obverse dies, and three reverse dies, assuming that the borders were engraved instead of punched; one die out of the eight tools remains.

The machinery used should have been the same as that which produced the earlier Simon medals in 1650–51 and/or the Blondeau/Ramage coinage trials in 1651, perhaps Blondeau's press (if he had his own), perhaps Briot's.

Simon or his goldsmithing workshop must have made the chains, because he applied his 'fashioning' fee to them the same as for everything else. He also supplied cases and ribbands, subcontracting the latter.

Borders in the dies are not the same as 'moulded borders' or 'surrounds', which were common among different cast medals during the Civil Wars,<sup>7</sup> even though the end product may look similar.

The reverse die for the Trophy Large Border medal, MI 398/26, has been in the British Museum (Pl. 6, 1) since about 1791. It is a simple square flat steel plate, slightly convex on the die face surface, flat on the back side, 20–21 mm thick, and weighing 726.26 g. Around the edge, where the trophy border is depicted, the die is more deeply incuse than in the centre, and the impression at all points is quite shallow. Hawkins in 1850 wrote that it was bequeathed by William Belshaw, a jeweller, but there is no previous history such as when or how Belshaw got it. He implied that the restrikes were made before the die came to the BM, yet he mentioned nothing about the severe crack.

## The Records

All of the medals were prestigious and important rewards, making it surprising that no obvious periodicals or pamphlets of the time known to the writer seem to have made reference to them. Documentation comes from various types of state papers or records, such as journal books and letters, seen today mainly in the form of the published *Calendars of State Papers*. For this paper the *Calendars*, and often of more importance their primary sources, provided most of the information. But these can only represent a portion of the material that originally

<sup>7</sup> A study that Derek Allen had once hoped to undertake (personal correspondence).



existed, and are especially lacking in personal letters and casual notes between navy offices regarding individual awards. Details such as design sketches or warrants to and from Simon are unknown. The best records are complete Simon accounts of 23 August 1656, without which the other materials are useless. They exist in two places, and are reproduced here as Appendix A, and mentioned in Appendix C, with notations interleaved in this present section as they apply. Simon's later 1657 summary account requesting various payments (PRO Mint 3/16) does not mention these medals, because those accounts were cleared by then, and had been handled in a somewhat independent manner through the navy and prize offices. Most of the following quotations are from the *Calendars*, which unfortunately can sometimes be no more than brief summaries; others are primary where they were practical to obtain.

August 6, 1653 is the initial mention of the awards, when only chains were under consideration: 'That it be humbly reported to y<sup>e</sup> Parlam<sup>t</sup> from this Councell, That two gold Chaines to y<sup>e</sup> value of 300<sup>li</sup> a peece may be made and given to Gen<sup>ll</sup> Blake and Gen<sup>ll</sup> Monke, as a marke of ffavo<sup>r</sup> from y<sup>e</sup> Parlam<sup>t</sup> and a token of their good acceptance of y<sup>e</sup> eminent Services p<sup>r</sup>formed by them ag<sup>st</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Dutch; and y<sup>t</sup> a Chaîne to y<sup>e</sup> value of 100<sup>li</sup> may be made and given to Vice-Adm<sup>ll</sup> Pen, and one of y<sup>e</sup> same value to Reere-Adm<sup>ll</sup> Lawson upon y<sup>e</sup> same Consideration. And Mr. Moyer, and Mr. Courtney are desired to make this report to y<sup>e</sup> Parlement'.<sup>8</sup> Somehow Penn's reward increased to £150 before it was issued, with another £30 added more than a year later (Appendix A). The £150 medal is determined to have been to Penn, and not Lawson, because Penn's medal and chain have a current weight close to the expected £180, and is much too heavy to have been only £130, a difference of about a Troy pound. Penn was also of a higher rank than Lawson. The word 'value' proves to mean the cost to the navy, not gold value.

August 8, 1653. '... that four gold chains of 401. may be given to the four flag officers for service in the late engagement, and that the money to be laid out in these chains, and in those to the Generals and vice and rear-admirals, be raised to 2000l., to be given in medals amongst the other fleet officers, by advice of the Generals'.<sup>9</sup> Here is the first request for the full, but undefined complement of awards and their total funding. What these two oft-quoted orders say, but may or may not have intended, is chains to the admirals and flags, and medals only to the other officers, and in that order. Nothing gives the reason for three separate medal sizes.

August 16, 1653. 'Mr Simons to be employed in preparing medals for the officers of the fleet; the Admiralty Committee to speak with him concerning going in hand with them'.<sup>10</sup> This may suggest that Simon was to visit the fleet with the committee to get ideas for the designs.

Paulucci, the Venetian resident, wrote about this subject to his superior in Paris on 26 August 1653. 'To meet the demands of the generals of the fleet and as a token of the nation's esteem for the captains who distinguished themselves in the recent fights and to encourage all others, parliament has this week ordered a number of gold chains with medals to be made to be sent speedily to the commanders, to be distributed among the deserving, as a conspicuous mark of the generosity and munificence of this parliament'.<sup>11</sup> If Paulucci saw such words in print they have not been found today.

November 7, 1653. 'from William Sanders to Gen Monck. Desires his interest in procuring him the medal promised . . .' He had taken the lieutenant's place during the battle, while on

<sup>8</sup> Henfrey, 'Historical notes relating to the naval honorary medals of the Commonwealth', *NC* (1875), 83, which he took from *Entry Book No. 98* of the Council of State, p. 190. It is modernised, with Blake being called a colonel, in *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic (CSPD) Commonwealth 6 (1653-4)*, Council of State Day's Proceedings, p. 77. This report was passed on to parliament 8 August, and ordered by them, and is found in *The Journals of the House of Commons (CJ)*, vii., pp. 296-7.

<sup>9</sup> *CSPD 6 (1653-4)*, p. 79. This report was also passed on to parliament 8 August, and ordered by them, and is found in *The Journals of the House of Commons (CJ)*, vii., pp. 296-7.

<sup>10</sup> *CSPD 6 (1653-4)*, p. 89.

<sup>11</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Venice (CSPV) 29* Paulucci to Sagredo, p. 115.

board the *Triumph* and received a gratuity for that.<sup>12</sup> The medal that should apply is the Plaine Borderless one, so here is a good instance of a senior officer (Monck) being involved in authorising or even issuing a medal to, in this case, possibly a temporary officer. Most likely he did get one next year.

On December 2, 1653 the Council of State issued a warrant for the Commissioners of Prize Goods to pay Thomas Simons, goldsmith 'In part of 2,000l. ordered by Parliament for chains and medals for the generals and officers of the fleet, any former orders notwithstanding, sum £1,500 0 0'.<sup>13</sup> This is the first of three payments to Simon for the project, and mainly covered the gold he had to purchase.

January 17, 1653/4 (Appendix A, Simon's account). Simon received the above £1500 payment from the Prize Office for gold medals, some with chains for the Officers of the Fleet.

February 25, 1653/4 (Appendix A, Simon's account). Simon delivered one Trophy Large Border medal and chain. This was the very first item to be released, and was the £300 award for either Blake or Monck.

February 28, 1654. '... That his Highness y<sup>e</sup> Lo. Protector be attended by ——— to the intent his Highness direccon may be rec<sup>d</sup> in what maner the Medalls p<sup>r</sup>pared for the Gen<sup>ls</sup> of the ffeleet shalbe disposed of'.<sup>14</sup>

March 17, 1653/4 (Appendix A, Simon's account). Simon delivered to the Tower the remaining eight Trophy Large Border medals with chains plus the nine without chains, and they were weighed.

Monck was officially appointed to command in Scotland on 8 April 1654, was supposed to have left London on the 10th, and went to Scotland, or arrived there on the 22nd,<sup>15</sup> so some time in March was appropriate for a presentation. The peace treaty was signed by Cromwell on 19 or 21 April, and proclaimed on the 26th.<sup>16</sup>

May 11, 1654 (Appendix A, Simon's account). Simon received a further £500 payment

<sup>12</sup> CSPD 6 (1653–4), under Letters and Papers relating to the Navy, p. 519. Prior to then, on page 501 for Oct 7, 1653 'To order for Wm Saunders, midshipman of the *Triumph* in the last year's expedition, £25. for extraordinary service.'

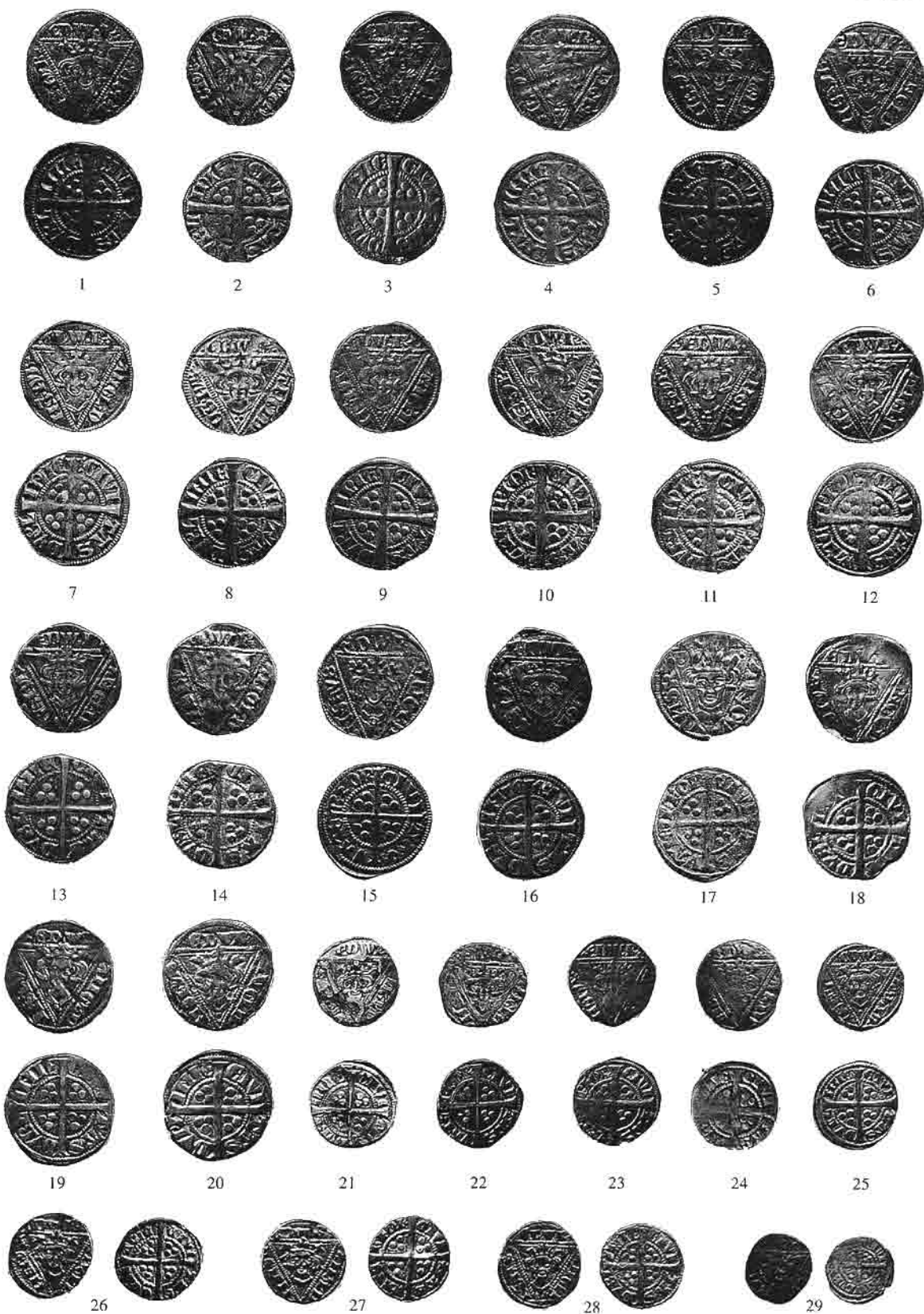
<sup>13</sup> CSPD 5 (1653–4), p. 456.

<sup>14</sup> CSPD 6 (1653–4), p. 425. The original text presented here is taken from Henfrey (1875), who copied it from the Draft Order Book.

<sup>15</sup> Thomas Gumble, *The Life of General Monck* (1671), p. 77, said '... (the little Juncto, chosen by the Army, had upon their last Victories against the Dutch, ordered him a Chain of Gold, with a large Meddal appending, with the representation of a Sea Fight) Cromwel invited him to Dinner, and put it himself about his Neck, and made him wear it all Dinner-time; and thus the Usurper thinks he had him chained to his Service'. Lucie Street in *An Uncommon Sailor, a portrait of Admiral Sir William Penn* (New York, 1988), p. 66, says that the medals and chains were hung around the necks of Monck, Penn and Lawson by Cromwell at a grand banquet in the Banqueting Hall at Westminster. Where did she get this? E. Locker, *Memoirs of Celebrated Naval Commanders* (1832), p. 8 follows mention of the General Thanksgiving of 25 August with; 'When Monck came to London he met Cromwell at a great civic feast, on which occasion he put the chain around his neck, and made him wear it during the repast'. This type of date compression is very common. Granville Penn in *Memorials of ... Sir William Penn* (1833), only gives the official order for the award and repeats some of the Monck story, but there doesn't seem to be anything more helpful in his volumes. The dinner is often confluent with an elaborate

banquet at Grocer's Hall in the City on 8 February, and Dr Capp has found that *Mercurius Politicus*, 2–9 February, p. 3262 mentions that Monck was present, but he doubts that Cromwell would have used a ceremonial meeting with the Dutch ambassadors to reward their foes, and he found no reference to presentations in this newspaper between January and July 1654; cf. (James Caulfield), *Cromwelliana* (1810), p. 134. There are some other negatives, including too early a date for the medal/chain to be ready. A later choice might be the 4 March Banqueting Hall affair at Whitehall, which included the Dutch and many other ambassadors, but there is no evidence of Monck's presence, and similar negative arguments would hold (*Cromwelliana*, p. 136). It was mid-April when Monck left for Scotland. Gumble could have had the story of an unpublicised private dinner with Cromwell directly from Monck, with or without Penn or Lawson or Blake, and it became confused since then. However, such expensive chain awards should have been conducted as formal presentations, although these senior commanders were rarely available at the same time. We simply do not know when a dinner may have occurred. In the Courtauld Art Institute is a Lely portrait of Monck in black armour, wearing a medal on a chain of proper format, but with a design not intended to be explicit. The date of the painting is not known. Similar paintings and engravings seem to show a George medal, or something of that type, and it is doubtful that the naval medal was ever shown, especially if all of the illustrations were post-Restoration.

<sup>16</sup> *Mercurius Politicus* said Monck left London 10 April; Gardiner says he arrived in Scotland 22 April.



NORTH: ANGLO-IRISH HALFPENCE, FARTHING AND POST-1290 PENCE

PLATE 2



1-4



1



2



3=13



4=7



5-6



5



6



7-10



7=4



8



9



10



11-17



11



12



13



14



15



16=19,22,24A



17



18-20



18



19=16,22,24A



20



21-22



21=23



22=16,19,24A

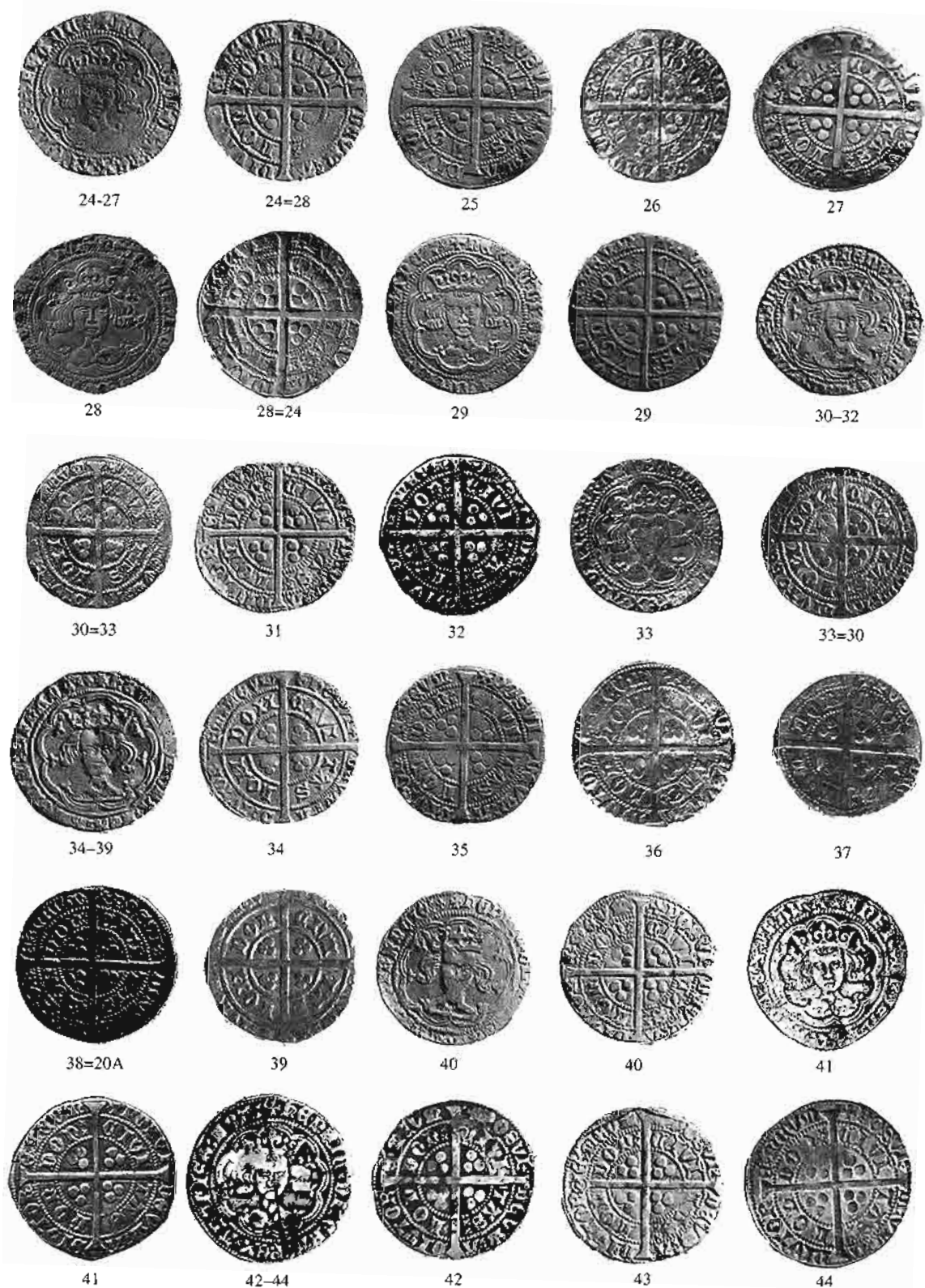


23



23=21





HARRIS: COINS OF HENRY IV AND HENRY V (2)

PLATE 4



45



45



46



47



47=48



48



48=47



49



49



50



4A



50



24A



24A=16,19,22



4A



51-2



51



52



53-7



53



54



55



56



57



58



58



59



59

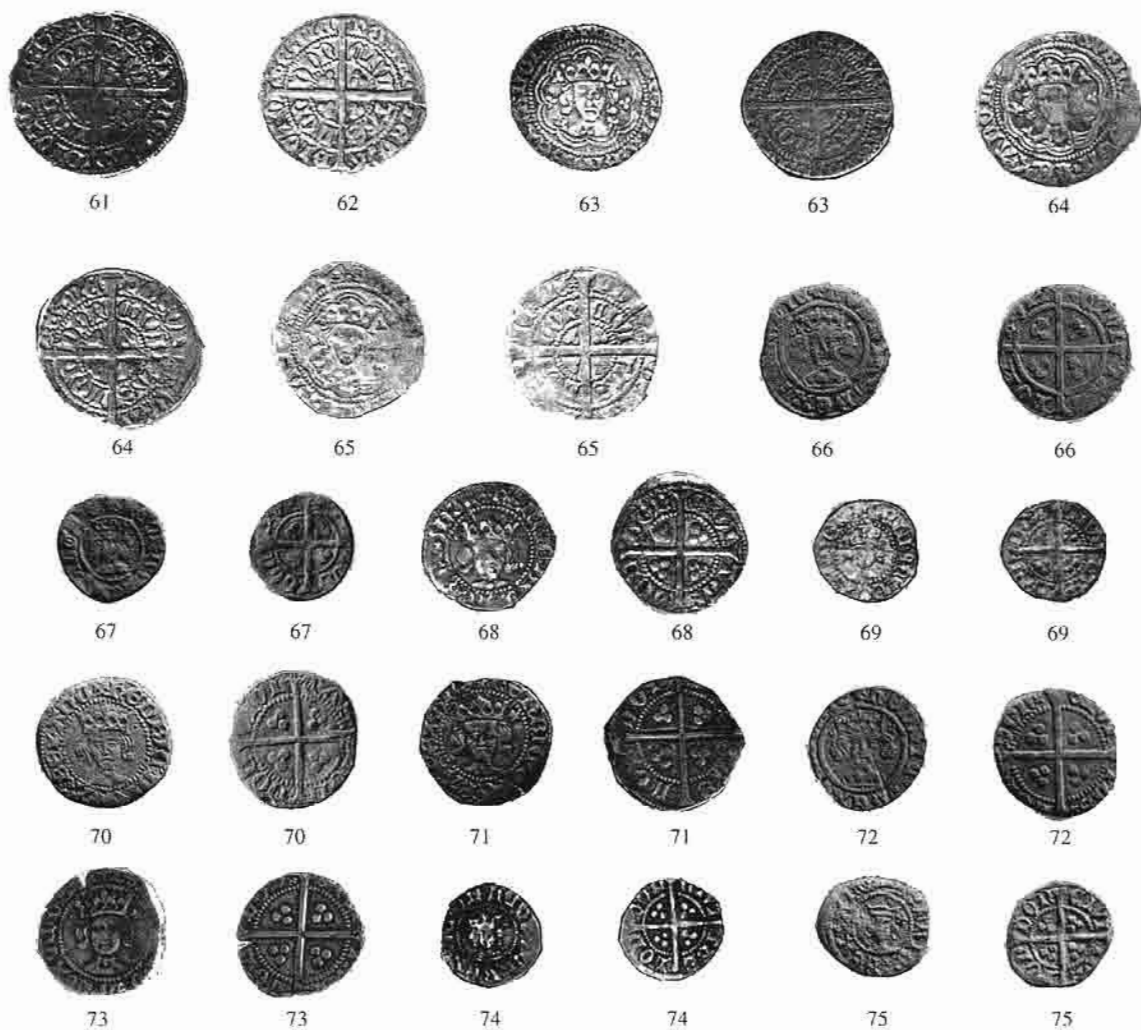


60-2



60





HARRIS: COINS OF HENRY IV AND HENRY V (4)

from the Prize Office under a warrant dated 27 April. This was his second payment, which he actually underran by some £48. The unusually rapid payments were from prize money – loot.

June 13, 1654 (Appendix A, Simon's account). Simon delivered to the Tower seventy Laurel Lesse Border and seventy nine Plaine Borderless medals. These medals were weighed three days later, and that amount summed with the March 17th weights exactly equal Barkstead's total in the Calendar entry below for July 3rd.

June 14, 1654 (Appendix A, Simon's account). Simon delivered one final Plaine Borderless medal of 443 grains, and this was the one he engraved 'Saving Ye Trivmph'.

On 26 June 1654 Paulucci wrote that 'His Highness has ordered 2000 gold medals to be struck, their obverse bearing the arms of England, Scotland and Ireland and the reverse a sea fight, as he means to distribute them to those who distinguished themselves most in the state's service during the late Dutch War'.<sup>17</sup> Of course the 2000 referred to £ not quantity. This looks to be the only instance that the medal design was described, and it is possible that Paulucci saw one or read a news report.

July 3, 1654 (Appendix B). Col. Jo. Barkstead at the Tower to the Admiralty Committee: 'Has delivered the gold medals and chains received from Mr Simons to Jno. Powell; their total weight was 385 oz. 4 dwts. 23 grains'.<sup>18</sup> This is 184,919 grains or 32.104 lb Troy of alloyed gold bullion, equivalent to £1367.6 at Simon's cost, and *excludes* the first medal and chain delivered in February.

July 22, 1654 (Appendix A, Simon's account). Simon paid Mr Thomas Edwards for ribbands.

July 23, 1654. Capt. Jno. Taylor from the Chatham yards to Robert Blackborne: 'Begs his assistance in reserving one of the medals for his son Joseph Taylor, who served as commander in the *Unity*, *Adventure*, and *Exchange*, in 3 great fights with the Dutch in June and July, and was removed by General Monck into the *Mayflower*. Having gone to Russia in his own ship, he could not apply for it himself'.<sup>19</sup> Here is a suggestion that the medals were cumulative for all the battles.

July 27, 1654. Capt. Giles Shelley of the *Colchester* in a request to the Navy Commissioners: '... desires leave to attend them to receive his medal'.<sup>20</sup> Did every recipient have to go through this, and how did he know that he was entitled to a reward?

November 3, 1654. Capt. Jere. Smith from Hull asks the Admiralty Committee: 'As they have given medals to several captains for services against the Dutch, and have one for him, desires it may be delivered to Capt. Jno. Northend'.<sup>21</sup> Milford Haven confuses the award to Smith and other captains with the small gold naval reward of 1650.<sup>22</sup>

These last two entries meant that recipients would normally receive their medals in person, possibly even at a social occasion, but that they could get them from a third party if unable to attend.

On January 15, 1654/5 there is a Protectoral warrant issued to the Admiralty Committee 'to add 30l. to the value of the medal appointed for Gen. Penn'.<sup>23</sup> Abbott quotes the full warrant, and the comparison is a good example of how the Calendar summary is not always satisfactory: 'Warrant to the Admiralty Committee: Oliver P. You are out of the money remaining in your hands for medals to add unto the medal formerly appointed for General Penn, the value of 30l. or thereabouts. For which this shall be your warrant. Given at

<sup>17</sup> CSPV 29, p. 228.

<sup>18</sup> CSPD 7 (1654), Letters and Papers relating to the Navy, p. 516, and for the full transcription see Appendix B, which is Public Record Office SP 18/84/39–41.

<sup>19</sup> CSPD 7 (1654), p. 529.

<sup>20</sup> CSPD 7 (1654), p. 532.

<sup>21</sup> CSPD 7 (1654), p. 567.

<sup>22</sup> Marquess of Milford Haven, *British Naval Medals* (1919), p. 386. While some of his comments are noted in this paper, he is often confusing, with unreferenced statements, at least for the Commonwealth period.

<sup>23</sup> CSPD 8 (1655), p. 20.

Whitehall this 15th January 1654/5'.<sup>24</sup> This additional piece of chain could be for West Indies services, added to what he got the year before. There were still some £48 remaining in the £2000 fund at this time.

March 16, 1655 (Appendix A, Simon's account). Simon delivered the £30 addition to Penn's chain, or added to it himself. This was 3415 gr and the bullion cost £25.25. The entry is actually dated March 16, 1655, which would usually translate to 1656, a year after the warrant for the additional chain. It is assumed that Simon made a mistake and really meant March 16 1654 (1654/5), or else he used the new style by accident, a not uncommon occurrence. It makes more sense in this position.

June 14, 1656 (Appendix A, Simon's account). At this strangely late date Simon delivered a further medal and small value chain, assumed to be a Trophy Large Border of 3391 gr. with a bullion value of about £25.1, or about £30 charged (cost) to the navy. It is not known who received this or if indeed it was the Trophy Large Border type, but one might look for some other high officer, perhaps someone upgraded around this period, such as Edward Montagu. When his accounting was completed on 23 August 1656, Simon was owed £11 18s. 6d., and that was authorised in the *Calendar's* next and final entry on the subject.

23 August, 1656. There is an order from the Admiralty Committee to the Navy Commissioners 'to make out a bill for the balance of £11.18.6 due to Thos. Simons, for making gold medals and chains for the fleet, he having received 2000l. from the Prize Office. With Simon's accounts'.<sup>25</sup> These last three ephemeral words are the only published clue, and translate into the accounts reproduced here in Appendix A.

### Fleet organisation

In the summer of 1653 the fleet was divided into three squadrons for operational purposes, the Red, White, and Blue, each under the overall command of an admiral of the fleet. Actually there were four admirals of the fleet: two were generals-at-sea in the Red (commanding jointly on the same ship, which was why Monck was standing near Deane when the latter was killed in June), one a vice-admiral in the White, and one a rear-admiral in the Blue. Each squadron then comprised three divisions, one commanded by one of the admirals of the fleet, the other two by a flag officer; these latter were a vice- and a rear-admiral entitled to fly a flag. Technically there were nine flags since admirals of the fleet were also considered main flag officers. A general would have his ship handled by a flag captain, but an admiral, whether an admiral of the fleet, or a lesser flag officer, was supposed to captain his own ship. Captains commanded individual ships, each generally with a lieutenant under him, and there were several types of warrant officers, such as the master (who was the most senior figure, and directed the sailing of the ship), the clerk of the cheque/purser, gunner, boatswain, carpenter, surgeon, and cook,<sup>26</sup> depending on the ship's size. The Navy was administered by 1. the Admiralty Committee of the Council of State, 2. the Committee of Merchants of Navy and Customs (a group of no importance here, which was dissolved in 1654), and 3. the Commissioners of the Navy, the mainstay of the administration, and a highly efficient body of professionals, mainly military officers.

For the entire Commonwealth period there were about 375 captains commissioned, and a further 150 commissioned officers served in hired merchantmen.<sup>27</sup> Of more immediate

<sup>24</sup> W. C. Abbott, *Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, v. 3, p. 575.

<sup>25</sup> *CSPD* 10 (1656–7), p. 416. See Appendix A for Public Record Office SP 18/144/66–68.

<sup>26</sup> Bernard Capp, *Cromwell's Navy* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 206 & ff.

<sup>27</sup> Capp, *Cromwell's Navy*, p. 155.

relevance is that at the time of the early June battle at the Gabbard, there were ninety-four ship's captains, six flags, and four generals/fleet admirals listed in 105 ships.<sup>28</sup> There were perhaps 100–120 ships in the 31 July battle at the Texel. Thus, there was some rough equivalence in the size of the English forces for the two battles.<sup>29</sup>

### Bullion gold

Simon's account (Appendix A) shows that he paid, or charged the navy, £3 11s./ounce, or £42.6/pound Troy for the gold bullion. Coinage crown gold of 22 ct (91.67%) converts to £41/lb Troy, and the cumulative weights and sterling figures listed by Challis for the period 1653–7 also convert to £41/lb Troy.<sup>30</sup> It is worth an attempt to calculate bullion prices independently, because the technique might be useful for other work. Snelling<sup>31</sup> listed the price of fine gold in 1612 as £44.78/pound Troy, and he defined fine gold as 23.875 carats, which is 99.479% of pure gold for about the same period. He shows no other figure until a considerable change in 1663, a very long period. The medals have not been assayed, and specific gravity measurements must suffice by making use of tables, and assuming that the alloy is copper. Four sg measurements were made by this writer many years ago, these being 17.83 (BM M7347, MI-27), 17.70 (BM M7348, MI-28), 17.86 (BM M7349, MI-29), and 17.70 (author MI-28). The range in the table<sup>32</sup> shows such gold to be about 92.5%. Then,  $0.925 \times 0.99479 \times £44.78 = £41.21/\text{pound Troy}$ , which is low compared with Simon's £42.6 figure, and is nearer to coinage specifications of the less-fine crown gold.

### Simon's charges

In his account (Appendix A) Simon states that his charge or fee, what he calls 'for the fashion[ing of the gold]', was 13s. 4d./ounce (Troy), which is £8/lb Troy or 15.8% of the total (£313 12s. 8½d. out of £2011 18s. 6d.). This format of charge does not appear in either of his other surviving accounts, from 1657 or 1665. The lack of die-making charges is unbelievable, unless he made them as a salaried employee, and yet he had to make many steel tools, for which he should have charged at least £100. This comment is based on later Simon billings, for we lack anything earlier from him. A digression will compare this fee with some of his other charges.

There are Simon accounting figures for the *Lord Protector* medal a year or two later.<sup>33</sup> Two available sg measurements are 18.11 for a 448.5 gr medal (BM) and 18.26 for a 458.4 gr example (author), somewhat finer gold than that for the naval medals, and neither has a loop, ring or chain. The conversions in the table give about 94.5% gold. Thus,  $0.945 \times 0.99479 \times £44.78 = £42.10/\text{pound Troy}$ , the approximate bullion value for the *Lord Protector* medal. Knowing what Simon billed for *Lord Protector* medals with chains and loops, makes it

<sup>28</sup> C. T. Atkinson, ed., *Letters and Papers Relating to the First Dutch War, 1652–4*, v. 5, Navy Records Society (1911), pp. 16–20, reproduces the list that was originally published in a pamphlet for the 2–3 June battle. Unfortunately there is no similar list for 31 July.

<sup>29</sup> Atkinson, *Letters and Papers*, . . . p. 163.

<sup>30</sup> C. E. Challis, *A New History of the Royal Mint* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 319, where he shows 563 lb 8 oz 3 dwt 16 gr totalling £23,111, but that sterling figure may have been derived from £41, instead of the other way round.

<sup>31</sup> Thomas Snelling, *A View of the Gold Coin and Coinage of England* (1763), pp. 34–35.

<sup>32</sup> Earle R. Caley, *Analysis of Ancient Metals* (New York,

1964), p. 46, who shows how difficult and imprecise specific gravity measurements are, and his table thus gives the nearest per cent only, because the uncertainties negate precision. All the measurements were made by this writer and they are definitely uncertain. The resultant figures should be understood in that light, although the weights of these naval medals coupled with their gold content are both high enough to reduce the errors. Another table may be found in J. Vagel, 'How to determine the exact specific weight of coins', *SCMB*, March 1967, 111.

<sup>33</sup> M. Lessen, 'The Cromwell Lord Protector medal by Simon', *BNJ* 47 (1977), 121, which used Public Record Office document Mint 3/16, Simon's Account of 1657.

possible to say that he charged about 20–25% over his bullion expense to produce them, all of which had chains (those in the invoice) that made up 90–97% of their total weight. The calculations are as follows:

<i>LP Medal</i>	<i>Simon's charge (£)</i>	<i>Weight in Simon's Account: weight (gr)</i>	<i>weight (lbTy)</i>	$\times$	<i>gold (£/lb Ty)</i>	$=$	<i>gold cost (£)</i>	<i>charge/cost ratio</i>
a	£40	4522	0.785	$\times$	£42.10	$=$	£33.05	1.21
b	50	5664	0.983	$\times$	£42.10	$=$	41.38	1.21
c	100	11050	1.918	$\times$	£42.10	$=$	80.75	1.24
d	120	14400	2.500	$\times$	£42.10	$=$	105.25	1.14
e	120	13092	2.273	$\times$	£42.10	$=$	95.69	1.25

There is a discrepancy with d, the Courland medal. *CSPD* for 14 July 1657 said to give him a medal and chain of 100 pound *value*. But in *CSPD/Venice* for 6 August 1657 it says a gold chain *worth* about 120 sterling. Simon's account specifies a *charge* of £120. Perhaps Simon's figures are in error, reflected in the low ratio. *Lord Protector* die-making charges, if any, are unknown. Differences due to fine or pure gold or specific gravity inaccuracies are not crucial factors in these calculations, but they are quite sensitive to the price of bullion. If £1 is added to the bullion price, because the calculation above was low by a little more than that, then the profit figure drops by about three percent.

The enigmatic gold IAM FLORESCIT medal of the early 1660s to cooks and musicians, MI 475/83, presents a story with a still higher profit. Three of these weighed a total of 0.3865 lbs Troy, and Simon billed £31 for them, and charged separately for the dies or whatever he used.<sup>34</sup> Snelling's base price for pure gold in 1661 and 1663 is listed between £49 and £51 (or £43.73 and £44.5 for crown gold for that period)<sup>35</sup> and, assuming crown gold, one can approximate a 42–45% profit if they were made as late as then, or 49% if they were made in the lower bullion price period around 1660. For the *Lord Protector* and IAM medals Simon could have lumped various other charges into profit, and that might account for some of the difference from the 15.8% fashion fee for the naval medals. Or he become a costlier goldsmith/artist/medalist.

## CORPUS

Often these medals were popular enough to have been publicized at auction and in museum exhibits, so in a sense they were fairly well recorded, albeit with traditional poor cataloguing and pedigrees, and seldom with their weight stated, a serious impediment to tracing. There are two types of pedigrees; one is that from collection to collection, and the other is a family history or tradition tracing back to the original recipient, really a provenance. It is not a guarantee that an auction catalogue's mention of a previous sale is accurate. In this paper many of the pedigree details up to 1850 are from Hawkins, who was interested and knew many of the players. His views are accepted here as being accurate, although with qualifications and uncertainties, and sale details are filled in as available, mainly from Manville.<sup>36</sup> When a family history is specified by Hawkins, or is in sale and exhibition

<sup>34</sup> Public Record Office document Mint 3/16.

<sup>35</sup> Challis, *A New History of the Royal Mint*, p. 342 has figures of £43.73/lb Troy for crown gold between August 1661 and December 1663, and £44.5/lb Troy after that.

<sup>36</sup> Private correspondence, as well as H. E. Manville and T. J. Robertson, *British Numismatic Auction Catalogues* (1986), for many entries used here.



catalogues, it is accepted as truth. Appearances in war medal sales in the earlier part of this century were not uncommon, but those catalogues have only rarely been searched for the purposes of this paper due to a lack of access, nor were Continental auction catalogues or museums investigated, the latter a possibly lucrative area for study.

The design of the obverse is similar to the small Commonwealth naval medals of c. 1649–50 (MI 390/11 and 12), now with the addition of a Scottish shield, and the reverse to typical Dutch medals of the period.

*obverse*: oval shape, anchor suspending three shields of England, Scotland, and Ireland, surrounded by a rope cable, TS monogram initials on top of the anchor.

*reverse*: naval battle scene, blank field for the sky. SIMON on the stern of the sinking ship, and T.S. on the prow of another ship.

All three medal types included an integral loop in the die, really a bulb of gold that was drilled after striking, so the loop will not be mentioned again as a separate characteristic, but the presence or absence of a ring is noted. A ring was always included, for it was needed to attach the chain or ribband. The two larger medal dies had a bottom bulb also, similar to the top one, but these remained solid as a counterbalance, either for weight adjustment or for aesthetics. Two medals lack this bottom piece today, but it is not known if they originally came with or without it. When a (gram) weight is shown it is the actual measurement, then converted to grains for this paper. Each medal came in a fitted case, and those without a chain had a ribband for hanging instead. The wide, blank sky in the reverse field was so obviously intended for an engraved inscription to or by the recipient, that it is surprising, and unfortunate, that only one medal has come down to us that way (*Saving Ye Triumph*, engraved by Simon or his workshop).

### The Trophy Large Border Medal, TLB, (MI 398/26)

This has a broad border of naval motifs or captured trophies, such as flags, drums, and cannon. According to Simon's accounts there were nine, probably ten, such medals issued with chains and nine without.

The four admirals of the fleet who were recipients of TLB medals with chains, are clearly identified as General George Monck £300, General Robert Blake £300, Vice-Admiral William Penn (£150+£30 later), and Rear-Admiral (after March 1653) John Lawson £100. General Deane was killed in June; Blake was recuperating, and not present at Texel. At the end of 1653, Penn and John Desborough became generals-at-sea, in association with Blake and Monck, and Lawson advanced to vice-admiral.<sup>37</sup> Penn's promotion might be the reason he received £150 instead of the £100 originally ordered, but then so should Lawson's chain have been increased. Sterling amounts represent the cost to the navy, not the gold melt value.

To his nephew, Robert Blake, who may also have been a naval captain during the Dutch wars, Blake bequeathed 'the gold chain bestowed on me by the late Parliament of England'.<sup>38</sup> The medal must also have been included. It is wrong to assume that this medal should have survived simply because it was bequeathed, but at least it represents a little advanced information.

John Lawson, of Scarborough, left his gold chain (and medal undoubtedly) to his daughter, Isabella, who had married first Daniel Norton, and second Sir John Chicheley, and left a large family (*DNB*). Tancred<sup>39</sup> noted from a *Gentlemen's Magazine* that the medal and chain were

<sup>37</sup> *CSPD* 6 (1653–4), p. 280, December 2, and Monck and Blake were recommissioned for six months.

<sup>38</sup> J. R. Powell, *The Letters of Robert Blake*, Navy Records Society (1937), p. 343. Also in C. D. Curtis, *Blake, General-*

*At-Sea* (Taunton, 1934), p. 162.

<sup>39</sup> George Tancred, *Historical Record of Medals . . . to which is added the Catalogue of the Collection of Col. Murray of Polmaise* (1891), p. 30.



bequeathed to Richard Chichley in the will of December 1727 by his brother's brother-in-law, Richard Norton, who was the grandson of Sir John Lawson. Since Lawson's medal survived to this late date and had that publicity, connoisseurs should have been sufficiently alerted for it to have escaped the melting pot – the medal, not the chain – and be one of those known today.

Four or five flag officers also received these Large medals with shorter chains of £40 each. Who were these flag officers? The Navy Records Society reprinted the disposition of the ships and commanders of the summer fleet at the time of the 2–3 June battle at the Gabbard, and lists the two flag officers for the Red Squadron (under Fleet Admirals/Generals Deane and Monck commanding jointly in the *Resolution*) as Vice-Admiral James Peacock in the *Triumph*, and Rear-Admiral Samuel Howett in the *Speaker*. The White Squadron (under Fleet Admiral/Vice-Admiral Penn, in the *James*) had as its two flag officers Vice-Admiral Lionel Lane in the *Victory*, and Rear-Admiral Thomas Graves in the *Andrew*.<sup>40</sup> In the Blue Squadron (under Fleet Admiral/Rear-Admiral Lawson, in the *George*) the two flag officers were Vice-Admiral Joseph Jordan in the *Vanguard*, and Rear-Admiral William Goodsonn in the *Rainbow*. That gives six flags in June, some of whom can be projected to the end of July. Peacock and Graves were still flags at Texel, 31 July, but were killed in that battle, the former dying perhaps a few days later from his wounds (*DNB*). Other names who appear as flags in this period and need to be considered are Packe, who was killed before then; Ball and Mildmay, who were killed while flag captains; Richard Badiley, who was in the Mediterranean and not in the Dutch Wars; and George Dakins and John Bourne, who only became flags the next year.<sup>41</sup> So it looks like those who survived for their medals were Lane, Jordan, Howett, and Goodsonn, coincident with, what Milford Haven stated outright,<sup>42</sup> with the presumed fifth flag being undefined. Posthumous awards were not characteristic then, hence probably none for a Peacock or Graves, or even Deane, whose survivors tended to get cash stipends. The bulk of Jordan's property was left to his eldest son, Joseph (*DNB*), with or without the medal/chain.

At present it has been impossible to assign or categorize the rest of the TLB medals. Who received the fifth (flag?) medal and chain of £40? It seems unlikely that Desborough was given it, for he was not involved in the war, and actually never served aboard ship, even after he became a general-at-sea. Even so, he must be considered a candidate, and the dates of his promotion and the issuance are consistent. A possible person to have received the tenth medal and chain of June 1656 valued at about £30 was Mountagu, a military officer, who was not in the Dutch war. Colonel Edward Mountagu, a protegee of Cromwell, was made a general-at-sea 2 January 1655/6, having fought against the Spanish navy. He replaced William Penn, and the dates and his rank fit well enough. More confusingly, who got the nine without chains? Although not very likely, could each 1654 recipient have been given two, one with chain for formal presentations and one without for casual wear? The symmetry of the issue might lead to that belief but, assuming the chain was detachable by a clasp, there should not have been a need for the extra medal. The numbers would fit nicely. The basic medal of 1124 gr had a cash value of about £8; the real monetary value was in the chain. The survival is seventeen per cent.

### *The Reverse Die Restrikes*

Lead (Pl. 6, 2) and white metal (Pl. 7, 3) examples made later show the die crack the same as in the current state of the die (arrow). Interesting are the paper illustration and notes pasted to the reverses, all of which are shown (Pl. 7, 4). The origin of the engraved or woodcut

<sup>40</sup> Atkinson, *Letters and Papers* . . . (note 28), pp. 16–20.

<sup>41</sup> *CSPD* 7 (1654), p. 241, for July 1654, lists their daily pay

in the fleet to guard the Newfoundland fishery.

<sup>42</sup> Milford Haven, *British Naval Medals*, p. 385.

illustration, which shows the die crack, is not clear, for it is not from one of the standard books, such as van Loon, Vertue, Snelling, or Pinkerton. One must believe the annotations that claim these restrikes to be from the Trattle sale of 1832, but they are not in the sale catalogue. Several similar restrikes are in the British Museum, and the M.M. Sykes sale in 1824 included a uniface impression under the silver category as part of lot 95. An unusual piece in the British Museum is MI 401/30, a thin silver impression from the *uncracked* reverse die. United by a rim, the other side is a separate engraved silver plate of 'Blakes's' fantasy portrait, and is of no consequence. What is of interest is that the reverse striking is from the die while apparently in uncracked condition. If this was made while the die was in private hands in the eighteenth century, then its significance lies in showing that the die did not break in Simon's time. It could be a cliché test by Simon. There is no obvious rust (Pl. 7, 5).

### *The Medals*

TLB1. William Penn's. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, No. L8. (formerly (L6).<sup>43</sup> medal with ring of about 23 mm, bottom bulb, and full chain (Pl. 8, 6a–6b). For its weight see the discussion that follows. It was lent to the Museum by Mrs Wynne in 1937, and now by her grandson as Trustee of Mrs Stuart's trust. This, with its original case and later oak box, was exhibited to the Numismatic Society of London about 1850 by Hawkins, courtesy of Mr Granville Penn. It was then owned by William Stuart of Watford of the Penn family. In 1891 Tancred said that Penn's medal and chain were in the possession of Mr Stewart of Aldenham Abbey,<sup>44</sup> and Milford Haven in 1919 said it was in the possession of Lt Col W.D. Stuart of Tempsford Hall, Beds.<sup>45</sup> (Mrs Wynne came later.) This is certainly Vice-Admiral William Penn's medal and chain costing the navy £180. He bequeathed it to his Quaker son, William.<sup>46</sup> Here is the most important example of the naval medals today, and indeed of all Simon medals, for it appears completely original, well-defined, and has the only known chain and case of any of his works. The family deserves credit for their centuries of unique care.

Penn's case (Pl. 9, 6c) has an overall length of 186 mm, and a maximum width of 105 mm. It is a wood structure composed of two compartments, each covered in black leather with gold leaf decoration, and lined with dark green wool felt. A brass-hinged lid on each is fastened with a brass hook. The smaller compartment for the medal is somewhat oval and measures 68 mm wide and 27 mm high. The chain compartment is about 105 mm in diameter and 48 mm high, and the chain must be spiralled down carefully to fit properly.

The chain is about eight yards long, the links are each about 5.2 mm and the attaching ring about 23 mm, both in outside diameter (crude measurements scaled from a photograph). A count taken by the museum showed sixteen links in 2 inches, which would total approximately 2300 links. There is a small clasp, not obvious to see, which probably allowed the medal to be detached. For such a long chain to have been worn, if indeed at all practical, to say nothing of the much longer Blake and Monck chains, some form of multiple-strand looping around the neck and through the ring about five times would have been necessary.

In 1850 Hawkins tried to calculate the gold value of Penn's medal and relate it to its specified order of £100, but his result was unsatisfactory, and more can now be done with better data. The medal and chain were ordered at £150, with £30 added a year later, so its cost to the navy was £180. A current accurate weight of the medal and chain is, unfortunately, not available owing to the complexity of its display mounting. There are several approximate weights that can be used instead.

a. Simon's account figures for the original order plus the added chain are 35 oz 9 dwt 10 gr and 7 oz 2 dwt 7 gr; the sum converts to 20441 gr (3.549 lb Troy).

b. Hawkins's 1850 figures in (Troy) ounces are 2¼ for the medal and 40½ for the chain; the sum converts to 20520 gr (3.563 lb Troy).

c. National Maritime Museum catalogue card figures (avoir) are 4 oz for the medal and ring and 2 lb 10 oz for the chain; the sum converts to 20125 gr (3.494 lb Troy). A postal scale was used.

d. A note in its case, dated 28 July 1911, states 'Medal and Chain complete weighs 166 sovereigns'. Whether this was based on a measurement or derived estimate is not known, but it converts to 20459.5 gr (3.552 lb Troy).

Using £42.6/lb Troy for the bullion gold price, adding a fee of £8/lb Troy, and estimating £0.5 for the case, results in actual charges of between £177 and £181 compared with the £180 charges to the navy, a better

<sup>43</sup> No. L6 in *The Earl of Sandwich, British & Foreign Medals Relating to Naval and Maritime Affairs*, National Maritime Museum, (Greenwich, 1937), pp. 128–9, but now No. L8 in the 1950 edition of the catalogue.

<sup>44</sup> Tancred, *Historical Record of Medals*, p. 30.

<sup>45</sup> Milford Haven, *British Naval Medals*, p. 385.

<sup>46</sup> Street, *An Uncommon Sailor*, ... (note 15), p. 66.

correlation than one could expect. And if c. is eliminated, because it is inconsistent with the other three, then the range comes even closer at £180–181.

TLB2. Royal Collection, Windsor Castle, with ring of about 12 mm, but no bottom bulb, (73.24 g) 1130.26 gr (Pl. 10, 7a–7b). Royal Collection copyright, published by gracious permission of Her Majesty The Queen. There is no record in the Royal Library of the medal's accession. However, Hawkins in 1850 wrote that it was from the Trattle collection, but not in his May 1832 Sotheby sale, because Hawkins arranged for Trattle's three (?) undefined Commonwealth naval medals to be bought from the estate for William IV – at the time Russia was interested in the collection *en bloc*. From the Tyssen sale, Sotheby May 1802 (2977) £148 1s. 0d.; from the Heer Francois Fagel, Griffier der Alegeemeene Staaten, collection (see Appendix D) as noted in print and illustrated by van Loon in 1726.<sup>47</sup> According to Hawkins 1850, Tyssen had purchased the entire Fagel collection, and this is accepted on faith. In 1891 Tancred wrote that it was Blake's medal that was bought for William IV for 150 guineas.<sup>48</sup> However, the Royal Collection's medal cannot be defined other than to say that it is one of nineteen, unless something in Fagel's records were to be uncovered. In comparison with the size of the ring and chain-links of Penn's medal, TLB1, the small ring here might well obviate a chain.

TLB3. John Lawson's (?). Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Pl. 11, 8), (72.68 g) 1122 gr, with ring of about 15 mm, but no bottom bulb, the chain reported to have been melted down in the nineteenth century by a jeweller.<sup>49</sup> From Wadham College in 1922, given by John Griffiths about 1885; bought by Messrs. Colnaghi for Griffiths from the J. Sanders/Captain J. Hamilton sale, Sotheby May 1882 (97) for £305. Jackson said that a 'previous owner had picked it up at an obscure dealer's for £20',<sup>50</sup> and Tancred was told by Hamilton that it had been bought for a little over its gold value.<sup>51</sup> It does not necessarily mean that Hamilton was the one who bought it so cheaply, but that may have been the case. The Sanders/Hamilton sale catalogue introduction, written by Sanders, implies that this medal belonged to Hamilton, and that is consistent with the other information. Hamilton was dead, and Sanders owned the collection when it was placed at auction in 1882, the latter having added his own medals to it. Blake's school was Wadham College, and the museum postcard from which this illustration is taken attributes the medal to Blake, but that is unlikely and lacks any basis. By its semi-characteristic lack of a bottom bulb, and by its weight, it is possible to take it back further.

Dr Mead sale, Langford February 1755 p. 197 (48), 2 oz 6 dwt 20 gr = 1124 gr, with ring, £21 sold to Dr Barton (in author's copy). The Manville copy has Dr Barton for L. Royston; and another copy says Ld Royston.<sup>52</sup> By weight this is the Ashmolean's medal. Mead's medal happens to be the one that Vertue said he used for his illustration<sup>53</sup> which, just like the Ashmolean's (and also the Royal Collection's), lacks the bottom bulb. As far back as 1755 there was no chain. One would have expected that Dr Mead's/Ld Royston's medal should have remained in the collector's market, and not casually available to be bought at near bullion price later on.

The Lawson medal would be hard to associate by date with the one in the Royal Collection, TLB2, which was once in the Fagel collection. The reasoning is that there seems insufficient time for Chichley to inherit Lawson's in 1727, find the Dutch buyer Fagel, and still have it appear in print in Holland in van Loon in 1726 as belonging to the Fagel collection, which was later bought by Tyssen. Since it is not Penn's either, by default it might well be the Ashmolean/Wadham specimen TLB3, disposed of by Chichley after 1727, losing its chain, and somehow getting into the Mead collection. While the Mead-Ashmolean pedigree seems firm, the thread is tenuous when attempting to bring it back to Lawson. But if there are really only three medals now extant, and if Lawson's survived the eighteenth century, and is neither the National Maritime Museum or Royal Collection specimens, then it will be

<sup>47</sup> G. van Loon, *Beschrijving van Nederlandsche Historie-Penningen*, vol ii (Amsterdam, 1726), p. 378, where the medal is illustrated and attributed to Fagel's collection (or it says that there is one in his collection); it shows neither the top loop nor a bottom bulb.

<sup>48</sup> Tancred, *Historical Record of Medals*, pp. 30–31. This has some useful pedigree information, when such came from his personal knowledge.

<sup>49</sup> The notes to this were made several years ago by the author, but unfortunately their origin has since been lost, and the chain melting, jeweller and nineteenth century part of it will have to be disregarded as being unsubstantiated, especially because the century is too late. It would be important to know if this medal once had a chain, in order to narrow the possibilities, and even lend some credence to it being Lawson's.

<sup>50</sup> T. G. Jackson, *Wadham College Oxford* (Oxford, 1893),

p. 188 describes the medal and a little of its history. Dr John Griffiths (1806–85) was Warden of Wadham from 1872 to his death when the two Commonwealth naval medals were bequeathed.

<sup>51</sup> Tancred, *Historical Record of Medals*, p. 30.

<sup>52</sup> Till said this was bought by Ld Hardwick (Philip Yorke who died in 1764) and goes on to say it then went to Tyssen, Trattle, and William IV, but Hawkins in 1850 said Hardwick never had it, so Till's note has to be wrong, especially since Tyssen had the Fagel specimen. W. Till, *Descriptive Particulars of English Coronation Medals*, . . . (1838), p. 27.

<sup>53</sup> George Vertue, *Medals, Coins, Great Seals, and other works of Thomas Simon* (1753), pl. XVII/II, p. 28, and the 1780 second edition edited by Richard Gough. Vertue's extensive notebooks were published by the Walpole Society, but mention nothing on these naval medals. Pinkerton's, *The Medallic History of England* simply used redrawn copies of the Vertue illustrations.

tentatively assigned to the Ashmolean. The lack of the bottom bulb, which could have acted as a counterweight and might be expected to be part of a chain medal, is inconsistent, but we cannot be certain of that. In comparison with the size of the ring and chain links of Penn's medal, TLB1, the 15 mm ring is a negative factor, especially when we know nine were issued without chains.

TLB4.–TLB19. unknown. Besides the National Maritime Museum, Royal, and Ashmolean specimens, Milford Haven said that one was in the possession of Col A. E. Whitaker, of Babworth Hall, Retford.<sup>54</sup> However, Spink's annotated copy of Tancred mentions only a captains (that is, a PB) medal in the Whitaker collection, so there might be this simple discrepancy, while recognising that Milford Haven wrote post-Tancred. Otherwise there is no trace of any further survivals, and Milford Haven will be assumed wrong.

### *The Cast Copies*

There are several elaborate and high quality silver cast and chased copies of the Trophy Large Border medal, which can generally be considered to be by someone like James Stuart or John Kirk in the eighteenth century, although without any evidence that either was the maker.<sup>55</sup> They are very much in the style of a number of Cromwell medals made the same way. Three examples that differ in detail are in: the Hunter Museum, which was in Hunter's collection before 1785 (Pl. 11, 9); Hill and Pollard, *Medals of the Renaissance*, plate 30, no. 5 (Pl. 11, 10); and in the Stucker sale, lot 63, Bourgey, 21 November 1977 (Pl. 11, 11). In the Thomas sale of 1844, lot 285 seems to have been one of these, and it sold for 19 shillings to Cureton, who bought heavily for the BM at that auction. Lot 94 in the M. M. Sykes sale of 1824, under the category of 'restored English Medals, in Silver', was 'A fine cast of the Commonwealth Premium Medal presented to Admiral Blake' at £3 10s. 0d. Probably very few were made, and those perhaps on individual order from collectors who understood what they were, as opposed to their being forgeries. Some are said to read A. SIMON on the ship.

### **The Laurel Lesse Border Medal, LLB, (MI 399/27)**

This has a border of laurel leaves, a clean, simple design similar to some Civil War medal surrounds.

Who got these seventy examples awarded without chains? This and the next, Plaine Borderless (PB), type must have been for captains and below, differentiated in some unknown manner, but probably more senior captains for the LLB, and less senior captains and lower grade officers for the PB. A differentiation between regular navy captains and those in hired merchant ships does not seem to be the case, because William Haddock was one of the latter, yet he probably got an LLB; in fact he is the only recipient we presume to know.

The basic medal of 782 gr had a cash value slightly below £6. The survival is three per cent, an amazing, low figure.

### *The Medals*

LLB1. William Haddock's. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, No. L10, (Pl. 12, 12a) (50.7 g) 782.4 gr, with ring of about 12 mm, and with a bottom bulb. Purchased 1950 from Spink & Son, exhibited at the RNS in December 1904 by Charles Winter; from the Murdoch sale, Sotheby June 1904 (150) £405 (Pl. 12, 12b); from the Thomas Whitehead sale, Sotheby May 1898 (55) £430. Whitehead bought it at the late Mrs Charles Desborough Holworthy sale, Christies July 3, 1879 (6) for £105, and that was its first sale offering. The description of the next lot (7) in the Holworthy auction catalogue, which was the Plaine Borderless medal, PB8 below, stated that 'These two medals were given to Captain William Haddock R.N., who commanded the *America* [incorrect, it was the *Hannibal*] in the action of 31st July 1653'. Other Holworthy lots included such items as the King's cabinet from Naseby, the source of the famous letters, and the satin cap given to Richard Haddock jnr by Charles II in 1672. In 1850 Hawkins wrote that Charles Holworthy was a nephew of Charles Haddock, (of Wrotham, Kent in Tancred<sup>56</sup>)

<sup>54</sup> Milford Haven, *British Naval Medals*, p. 385.

<sup>55</sup> Christopher Eimer states that there is no evidence that Stuart, a designer, ever chased medals or made dies, let alone

sixteenth- and seventeenth-century copies, in *Designs on Posterity* (1994), p. 137 note 29.

<sup>56</sup> Tancred, *Historical Record of Medals*, p. 30.



who was the owner of the medal in 1798, and that Charles was the [last surviving] son of Admiral Nicholas Haddock, who in turn was a great grandson of Captain William Haddock. The *DNB* can help with those Haddocks pertinent to this story, because there were many of them, often with the same names. Richard Haddock (senior) at age 70 was a vice-admiral in 1652,<sup>57</sup> but was not employed in 1653. His son, our Captain William Haddock (1607–1667), commanded the hired merchant ship, *Hannibal*, in 1653, and possibly throughout all of the Dutch battles (and the *America* in 1650–1). William's son, Richard (junior) (1629–1715), was at least a lieutenant during the 1653 war, and may even have been on the same ship with his father on 31 July.<sup>58</sup> It was this Richard jnr's son who became Admiral Nicholas Haddock (1686–1746) in the next century, continuing the chain to Holworthy and the 1879 auction. Anthony Thompson, in doing some research on Commonwealth naval medals for this writer considered, among other things, that William Haddock might have received two medals, the laurel border as a junior flag officer and the plain borderless as a captain in a hired merchant vessel, and that he may have acted as rear admiral of the Red Squadron after vice-admiral James Peacock was killed at Gabbard in June, when Samuel Howett probably, not certainly, took his place.<sup>59</sup> Charnock's biographies include a 1796 engraving of the medal, with the plate captioned 'A Gold Medal given by the Parliament to Cap<sup>N</sup>. WILLIAM HADDOCK as a reward for his Gallantry in the Memorable Action with the Dutch Fleet in 1653. Captain William Haddock was the Grandfather of Admiral Nicholas Haddock. The Medal is now in the possession of Charles Haddock Esq<sup>r</sup>. of Wrotham in Kent, son to the Admiral abovementioned'.<sup>60</sup> Both Hawkins in 1850 and Tancred<sup>61</sup> must have relied on that reference. The long family tradition will be accepted that William Haddock received a Laurel Lesse Border medal and some Haddock, perhaps William again or Richard jnr, the Plaine Borderless medal, PB8 below. Dr Capp adds the possibility that a medal may have been awarded to the elderly vice-admiral Richard senior for his previous services; he was a surviving major Commonwealth naval figure from 1652 and before.<sup>62</sup> Could the Desborough family name associated with Holworthy have any significance? The Holworthy ancestor was John's younger brother, Samuel, who died in 1690. An illustration, some of its sale record, and the Haddock connection can also be found in *NCirc*, May 1905, column 8336, when Spink's owned the Murdoch medals.

LLB2. -- British Museum M7347 (Pl. 12, 13), (50.35 g) 776.90 gr; sg 17.83, with ring of about 12 mm, and with a bottom bulb. Bought from Edward Hawkins, bought for him by Cureton from the Webber sale at Christies, January 1846; bought by Dantziger for Webber for £11 15s. 0d. from the Thomas sale, Sotheby February 1844 (567) 'this medal is a good deal rubbed and perhaps cast. Or if not false' (annotated in the author's copy, but there seems nothing wrong with it, although the price is very low) (1 oz 12 dwts 11 gr = 779 gr); from the M. M. Sykes collection Sotheby May 1824 (276) £32; bought by Thane for Sykes for £48 19s. 0d. from the Samuel Tyssen collection Sotheby May 1802 (2978), who had bought it privately from Mr Miles for £20. These pedigree data were taken from Hawkins 1850, not from sale catalogue descriptions. Richard Miles (1740–1819) was an accountant to the British Museum and a London coin dealer, whose coins and books were sold at Sothebys in May 1820 (HEM). Hawkins's ms of plates<sup>63</sup> is dated 1833, yet on plate 54 he illustrated the Haddock medal cut from Charnock's plate, and he initialed it EH, which initials must have been added after he bought LLB2 years later, just to show that he owned the type, not that specific specimen.

LLB3.–LLB70. unknown

### The Plaine Borderless Medal, PB, (MI 400/28 and MI 400/29)

There is no border. Among the probable recipients of the eighty medals, and their June ships, were acting lieutenant William Sanders of the *Triumph*, which was under Peacock, captains Joseph Ames of the *Samuel Talbot*, Roger Cuttance of the *Sussex*, and William Haddock or his son Richard of the *Hannibal*, and clerk of the cheque John Clifton, possibly of the *George*,

<sup>57</sup> Capp, *Cromwell's Navy*, p. 163.

<sup>58</sup> Capp, *Cromwell's Navy*, p. 177, and *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>59</sup> Private correspondence from J. D. A. Thompson to the author in 1967. He was of the opinion that the Laurel Lesse Border medal was to junior flag officers, and the Plaine Borderless medals went to the captains of private hired armed merchantmen. It seems doubtful, but possible, that William had both medals issued to him, an idea that appears in several writings.

<sup>60</sup> John Charnock, *Biographia Navalis* (1794–8). He made

fairly useless references to awards and medals and family in vol. 1, pp. 229 and 334. Volume 4, p. 44, only has a 1717 entry on a later William Haddock who died in 1726. Good Haddock biographical material, with a family tree, is found in E. Thompson, *Correspondence of the Family of Haddock*, Camden Society Miscellany, new series, v. 31, no. 8 (1881), especially in the preface.

<sup>61</sup> Tancred, *Historical Record of Medals*, pp. 30–31.

<sup>62</sup> Private correspondence. If so, a large TLB medal would seem more suitable.

<sup>63</sup> Hawkins's ms plate volume; see footnote 2.

which was under Lawson. Captains Joseph Taylor (who is not listed for any ship in June), Giles Shelley of the *Waterhound*, and Jeremiah Smyth of the *Advice* should have received this, or the LLB medal above, based on the *Calendar* entries. Some of the captains listed as killed at the Texel battle, besides flags Peacock and Graves, were Chapman of the *Golden Cock*, one of the Taylors of the *William*, Newman of the *Mayflower*, and Crisp of the *Prosperous*.<sup>64</sup> None of these last four nor their ships were even listed at the June Gabbard battle. Ships and assignments changed between early June and late July, and even more so by the time the *Calendars* mention some of them months later. Dr Capp<sup>65</sup> felt that lower grade officers who had particularly distinguished themselves could also qualify, especially if they were under close scrutiny in a flagship, such as clerk of the cheque Clifton and acting lieutenant Sanders must have been.

The basic medal of 443 gr, with ring, had a cash value slightly more than £3. Their sparse survival is twelve per cent.

Hawkins in 1850 opined that these Plaine Borderless medals could also have been awarded for actions subsequent to the Dutch wars, but that theory is not consistent with dates or budgeted costs.

The following list should represent a very high percentage of those medals still in existence, with most of the uncertainty coming from the frequent inability to differentiate one sale catalogue entry from another.

#### *The Medals*

PB1. — Bonhams 25 March 1998 (35), with ring of about 11 mm, (28.9 g) 445.99 gr; to Hayward from the Heckett collection, Sotheby May 1977 (216) £5500 (PI. 13, 14). This could be PB15.

PB2. — Glendining 17 Nov 1988 (265), 441.77 gr, with ring of about 12 mm; Spink Auction 50, March 1985 (930) £5245 (PI. 13, 15), from David Spink's collection.

PB3. John Clifton's, author (PI. 13, 16), 410.32 gr, sg 17.70, no ring. Bought privately from David Spink's estate in 1986 (he had two); Dwight Thompson collection; bought by Spink from Glendining 12 February 1964 (10) no ring £700; Brigadier-General G. L. Palmer, T.D., M.P. Military and Naval Medals sale, Glendining, June 18, 1919 (10) £145 (no ring is noted, so it may have disappeared between 1910 and 1919); bought by Baldwin at the Robert Day sale, Sotheby April 1910 (8) for £170, where a ring of about 12 mm was present, catalogued as 'Capt Clifton of the *George*'. Spink's copy of Tancered has a November 1898 notation saying that Day has one of the (Plaine Borderless) captains medals, a dating consistent with the following; bought by G. Mortimer (unknown, but conceivably a buyer for Robert Day) from the Poyser, Wynn sale, Sotheby 11 July 1898 (265) for £205 'Property of a Lady', with the ring, 'exceedingly fine . . . has been carefully preserved in the Clifton family, to a member of which it has been awarded'. This has to be the first sale offering, and the catalogue goes on to discuss the Captain John Clifton mentioned in the *Calendar* for March 1654 as being in command of the *George*, and that he must not be confused with the John Clifton who was appointed clerk of the cheque in the *George* the previous October, also in the *Calendar*.<sup>66</sup> The family tradition should be accepted that the medal came through the Clifton family, although such assurance does not guarantee that the recipient was named Clifton. But assuming that he was the clerk, then much of the confusion has been eliminated by Dr Capp,<sup>67</sup> who feels certain that the so-called captain and clerk of the cheque were one and the same person; pointing out that the *Calendar* editors were often wrong in their assumptions and turned warrant officers into captains, because the clerk would commonly write ship's reports and covering letters that accompanied sea-books, thus confusing the editors 200 years later. So it seems that John Clifton received the medal for his services as a warrant officer. This is consistent with the original order to reward the 'officers', not necessarily captains, and with the distribution being made by the senior officers, apparently at their discretion. If Clifton was clerk on the *George* in the summer of 1653, as he was a few months later, then he was in a good position to have been chosen for an award, for that ship was one of the most important. He is

<sup>64</sup> Atkinson, *Letters And Papers* . . . (note 28), fn. p. 390. Cox of the *Phoenix* survived.

<sup>65</sup> Personal correspondence.

<sup>66</sup> *CSPD* 6 (1653-4), p. 439 for Oct 18, 1653 'Warrant of

the Council of State from Gens Blake and Monck to the Navy Commissioners to enter John Clifton as clerk of the check in the *George*'.

<sup>67</sup> Private correspondence.



mentioned as being purser of the *Worcester* in August 1656, and that is the final notice of him in the *Calendars*, at least from the indices. The ring shown in the Day catalogue disappeared after 1910. There might be further war medal sales between 1910 and 1964 that show this specimen. Some of the sale-to-sale tracing was possible because of faint toning characteristics.

PB4. — British Museum M7348 (Pl. 13, 17), (27.01 g) 416.76 gr, sg 17.70, no ring. Bought from Edward Hawkins; bought for him by Cureton from the Thomas sale, Sotheby February 1844 (568) (17 dwts 9 gr = 417 gr) for £8 (no pedigree listed), and this is another Hawkins purchase at a strangely very low price; bought by Young from the Hollis sale, Sotheby May 1817 (484) £43 1s. 0d. (no pedigree listed). This Hawkins/Thomas/Hollis sequence is given by Hawkins in 1850. One accompanying ticket is stamped with Hawkins's griffin or dragon, annotated by him 'AV Fleet Anchor & 3 Shields' and in pencil in another hand 'I400/28 Presented to Capt Joseph Ames'. A second ticket says 'Sr M. M. Sykes £28.' The logo means that BM M7348 was Hawkins's. If he ticketed it in 1844 and the *NC* article was in 1850, then he had time to come up with a better pedigree, or the tickets could have been swapped and annotated later by someone else. However, the £28 figure is proper for the Sykes specimen, PB11 below, making the entire scenario a mystery, for there is no reason for such a ticket to be in the British Museum.

PB5. 'Triumph'. British Museum (MI 400/29) M7349 (Pl. 13, 18), (25.91 g) 399.79 gr, sg 17.86, no ring. Purchased by Dr Southgate in 1792 for £23 10s. 0d. according to Hawkins in 1850. Engraved by Simon (or his workshop) in the reverse field FOR EMINENT SERVICE IN SAVING Y<sup>R</sup> TRIUMPH. FIRED IN FIGHT W<sup>TH</sup> Y<sup>R</sup> DVCH IN IVLY 1653, it was delivered by him at 443 gr on 14 June 1654, and he charged £4 for it, including fee and case (Appendix A). It is hoped that the missing ring accounts for the 43 gr. weight difference between then and now. MI gave this a separate number, but it is simply a Plaine Borderless medal. There is an unsubstantiated attribution of this to Joseph Ames,<sup>68</sup> but it is not known who on that ship received this medal or why the engraving was unique. Peacock was the *Triumph*'s captain, who did not survive the battle.

PB6. Roger Cuttance's. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, No. L11, formerly L8<sup>69</sup> (28.7 g) 442.9 gr, with ring of about 11 mm. From Emmanuel College, Cambridge (Pl. 13, 19), unprofessionally engraved with the initials R.C. on the obverse, and from that it was ascribed to Roger Cuttance,<sup>70</sup> a June captain of the *Sussex* in Howett's squadron (*DNB*). Since he was a navy captain, not a hired merchant captain, then if this medal really was issued to him, it cannot be said that LLB medals went to navy captains, and PB medals to merchant captains as a lower order of award. Indeed, if William Haddock got an LLB as a merchant captain in his hired ship, then the argument is weaker still.

PB7. — Ashmolean Museum (Pl. 14, 20), (28.64 g) 441.9 gr, with ring of about 12 mm. From Wadham College in 1922, given by John Griffiths about 1885. (This was not bought for Griffiths from the Sanders/Hamilton sale, as was the Trophy Large Border medal TLB3 above, nor is such said by Jackson,<sup>71</sup> but it is sometimes thought that the two were always together. That would be contrary to the Murdoch/Addington pedigree, PB8 below.)

PB8. Haddock's. (probably *NCirc*, 1914, column 477 (21313) £275). Murdoch sale (Pl. 14, 21), Sotheby June 1904 (151) £200; from the Montagu sale, Sotheby May 1897 (215) £240; from the Addington sale, Sotheby May 1886 (95), which states that it is from the Sanders/Hamilton collection. The Sanders/Hamilton sale took place at Sotheby May 1882 (98), and the medal was sold to Addington for £64, as confirmed in an annotated copy (HEM). At the late Mrs Charles Desborough Holworthy's sale, Christies July 3, 1879 (7) Sanders (this spelling in Christies annotated copy, but presumed to be the same man) bought it for £49 7s. 0d. Here was its initial sale offering, and the description states that 'These two medals were given to Captain William Haddock R.N., who commanded the

<sup>68</sup> *DNB* for Joseph Ames (1619–1695) says that in July he was present at the engagement with the Dutch, and that the 'saving y<sup>e</sup> Triumph' medal was awarded him by parliament, referencing the *Commons Journals*, vii. 296. This is convoluted, and the *CJ* for 8 August 1653 just gives the usual Council orders for admirals' and flag officers' chains readily found in *CSPD* for 6 and 8 August. *DNB* probably had information that Ames received a medal, and transposed it to this particular example.

<sup>69</sup> No. L8 in The Earl of Sandwich, *British & Foreign Medals Relating to Naval and Maritime Affairs*, National Maritime Museum (Greenwich, 1937), pp. 128–9, now No. L11 in the 1950 edition of the catalogue.

<sup>70</sup> R. J. H. Jenkins, 'Two gold medals from the Emmanuel College Collection', *Emmanuel College Magazine* xxx No. 1 (1935–6), 13–20. It was lent to Greenwich for the exhibition in 1937, and is still there. Jenkins placed a query in the *Mariners Mirror*, vol. 22 (1936), 247, asking for information on Cuttance, the medal, how it came to be at Emmanuel College, the will, etc., but there was no printed response noted in subsequent issues.

<sup>71</sup> Jackson, *Wadham College Oxford*, p. 188, describes the medal, but without a provenance except for Dr Griffiths, although he goes into detail about the Trophy Large Border medal. There might have been no further information in the MS notes of Griffiths that Jackson consulted.

*America* in the action of 31st July 1653.' For the other Holworthy/Haddock medal see the discussion under Laurel Lesse Border LLB1, above, and see Trophy Large Border TLB3, above, for the other Sanders/Hamilton medal.

PB9. Joseph Ames's. Bought by Webster for £60 from The British Museum Duplicates sale, Sotheby 10 February 1876 (28). This should be the one that Hawkins in 1850 said was purchased by the British Museum as part of the Barre Charles Roberts collection, who bought it at the Tyssen sale, Sotheby May 1802 (2979) £35 (no pedigree listed). Tyssen got it when he bought the entire (?) Hodsol collection; bought by Hodsol for £28 from the Joseph Brown sale, Greenwood 16 March 1791 (76). (At this point there is a conflict with PB14, below, where Hodsol is said to have bought Lindgreen's in 1784 for £4 17s. 0d. and the price, too, is inconsistent in the sequence). Bought by Snelling for Browne for £31 12s. 6d. from the (William) Joseph Ames sale, Langford February 1760 (81), which has to be its initial sale offering. The Langford catalogue stated that Ames was the grandson of Captain Joseph Ames, and Hawkins adds that he commanded the *Somerset*. Dr Capp has pointed out that he has no knowledge of a ship called the *Somerset* in the fleet during this period, rather that in 1653 Ames commanded the *Samuel Talbot*, a hired merchant ship, and the confusion could be due to a misreading of the script in the records consulted.<sup>72</sup> The fairly distinctive weight and logo associated with Hawkins's specimen, PB4 above, shows that the two were not accidentally swapped.

PB10. — Bought by Spink from the Col. Murray war medals sale, Sotheby 10 May 1926 (17) £100, with ring of about 11 mm; only the obverse is illustrated in the catalogue (Pl. 14, 22). This could be either PB1 or PB2 or PB8.

PB11. — bought by Dantzinger for Lord Holmsdale from the Gentleman sale (D. Jones Long or James Long as in this writer's copy), Sotheby January 1842 (686) for £12, stating that it was 'probably' from the Hollis [1817] collection. However, that seems to be an incorrect pedigree. Hawkins in 1850 does not mention Hollis for this specimen, rather he gives the following (expanded): M. M. Sykes sale, Sotheby May 1824 (275) highly preserved for £28, and stated to be formerly in the possession of Samuel Tyssen (no further pedigree listed); Samuel Tyssen duplicates sale December 1802 £18 (perhaps, but that catalogue has not been examined to see if there was such a medal); sold to Thane at the Joseph Browne sale 2 June 1791 (56) for £15, the dealer probably for Tyssen; bought by Morrieson for Browne for £30 from the James West sale, Langford January 1773 (47); bought by Carter (HEM copy gives the buyer as Gardiner) for £4 14s. 0d. from the Bryan Fairfax sale, Langford 26 April 1751 lot 78 listed at 18 dwt 12 gr = 444 gr. If Hollis does not apply, then this medal could be PB2, or even the Oxford specimen, PB7.

PB12. — bought by Cleghorn from the J. K. Ford sale, Sotheby June 1884 (596) £61.

PB13. — bought by Matthew Young from the A. Edmonds sale, Sotheby March 1834 (127) £14.

PB14. — bought by Hodsol for £4 17s. 0d. from the Charles Lindegren (Lindgreen) sale, Skinner 26 May 1784 (79) 'Admiral Blake (without the border)', a provenance in conflict with Hodsol in PB9 above, as is the price.

PB15. — G. Hamilton-Smith, War Medals sale, third portion, November 21, 1927 (1004) £100 with ring. Only the reverse is illustrated in the catalogue (Pl. 14, 23), and this undoubtedly is one of the above, almost surely PB1., Heckett's.

From this list seven distinct specimens can be defined today, with one or two more possibles out of the fifteen listed, so perhaps eight or nine in total. In November 1898, Spink's annotated copy of Tancred listed seven known examples as: British Museum, Col. Murray, Col. Eaton, Maj. Hay, Capt. Whittaker, Murdoch, Robert Day,<sup>73</sup> really eight when the TRIVMPH is added.

### Cast Copy

In the British Museum is a silver cast (Bank of England Medal 72), with a reverse that might have been chased, of the Plaine Borderless medal at 182.9 gr (Pl. 14, 24) of similar work to the 'Stuart' Trophy Large Border medals previously discussed. There is no Simon signature. Another, or the same, specimen that was apparently highly valued and even considered genuine appeared in the Thomas sale of 1844, lot 286, and this was a silver Plaine Borderless (captains) medal 'fine and rare' that sold for £8 15s. 0d. to Cureton, who was a major buyer for the British Museum during that sale. However, this has not been seen, unless it is the one shown here.

<sup>72</sup> Private correspondence.

copy, hand-annotated by Tancred or Spink.

<sup>73</sup> Tancred, *Historical Record of Medals*, p. 31, in Spink's

## Conclusions, and summary of medals issued

Contrary to expectation, the medals and chains went readily into the melting pot, most likely after the recipients' deaths and, at a guess, mainly in the seventeenth century.

Time and new data should narrow some of the pedigrees, add very few additional specimens, and clarify the inaccuracies and discrepancies in this paper. There may never have been paperwork assigning the mass of the plain and laurel leaf medals, leaving all of this to the discretion of the more senior officers. On the other hand those of high value with chains should have had more related documentation than we have now, with named recipients. Bold face type refers to medals currently known that can be traced to the original recipients, either by supposition or with some degree of confidence.

There were nineteen Trophy Large Border medals. Nine of them *with* chains went to **William Penn** (d. 1670), George Monck (d. 1670), Robert Blake (d. 1657), and **John Lawson** (d. 1665) as admirals of the fleet, and to Samuel Howett (d. ??), Lionel Lane (d. ??), Joseph Jordan (d. 1685), and William Goodsonn (d. 1662) as flag officers, and to an unknown, possibly another flag officer, or perhaps John Desborough (d. 1680). A tenth medal, at £30, had the shortest of all chains; it was issued to an unknown two years later, perhaps Edward Mountagu (d. 1672). A further nine Trophy Large Border medals *without* chains went to nine unknown persons. Three of these large medals exist today, but only one has a chain, and the other two may never have had one. This was the only medal type to be issued with a chain.

The seventy Laurel Lesse Border and eighty Plaine Borderless medals can be assigned in just the few instances already discussed. As a minimum these two types would almost have to have been a blanket award to each of the surviving ship captains in some manner of differentiation. If **William Haddock** (d. 1667) got the LLB and **Roger Cuttance** (d. 1678) and **Joseph Ames** (d. 1695) and maybe another **Haddock** the PB, all as captains, then it is not clear where the distinction would be. Clerk of the cheque **John Clifton** would fit satisfactorily as a PB recipient. It is conceivable, but unlikely, that some persons could have been awarded more than one type of medal. If each captain received one of the two medals, that amounts to about 100, and adding in an unknown number of lesser grade officers could arbitrarily bring the figure up to the necessary 150. By not limiting the award to Texel, the addition of further captains/officers from the previous battles would change the mixture somewhat. If the admirals of the fleet or senior officers had the authority and means to issue these on their own at their discretion, then very little official correspondence and few records might be expected. Even so, the awards must have been controlled and not randomly given for favouritism or nepotism, although some of that surely must have occurred.

Dr Capp makes the intriguing suggestion that a detailed study comparing rated warships amongst themselves and against hired merchantmen, their guns and tonnage, and the respective captains throughout the war, might provide clues to a dividing line between recipients of LLB and PB medals, and perhaps also help with the nine TLB medals without chains. That is, the larger and more important the ship, the more valuable the medal.

Measurements of the attaching rings were done crudely from photographs. All known PB and LLB medals have rings of 11 or 12 mm in outside diameter, as does TLB2 at Windsor Castle. They must weight about 25–40 gr, and played a role in weight adjustment. The Ashmolean TLB3 ring is 15 mm, and the sole medal with a chain, TLB1 at Greenwich, has a ring of 23 mm. Therefore, it appears that an 11–12 mm ring was for the ribband, a 23 mm one for the chain, at least for a £100–150 medal/chain, and that at 15 mm is unclear, but perhaps was for a £40 medal/chain. This implies that TLB2 was one of those nine medals issued without a chain, and TLB3 possibly with a chain. Penn-sized links would readily fit through the 15 mm ring, and much less comfortably through the

smaller ring. It is hard to imagine that all chains were not of one standard link size, with the weights controlled by the chain's length. The larger the ring, the more strands of chain that could fit through it.

### Postscript

Work on this paper was well advanced, and was based on physical evidence from the available specimens, the presumption that survival rates must have been very high, and the adequacy of the summary information in the published *Calendars*, when the reading of Simon's accounts turned the entire subject upside down, and showed that such assumptions were very wrong. The question had arisen as to the source of Milford Haven's and Powell's surprising statements on medal quantities. Dr Capp found the probable origin to be Oppenheim, whose reference to State Papers turned out to be accounts of Simon's, of sufficient impact to make previous work on the topic futile, or at best obsolete. In hindsight, it must be granted that there were pointers to these accounts, but not in the numismatic literature. They were casually mentioned in only three words in a back section Calendar entry dealing with a period three years after the events, and thus missed.

Our numismatic world has not done particularly well in finding, detailing and publishing records. Ruding did the overall pioneering work on coins, many others have added information on their specific topics, and Henfrey did a great deal on Cromwell/Blondeau/Simon as did Gough in his second edition of *Vertue*. However, there has been no concerted effort to establish or consolidate a groundwork of primary sources on which numismatic studies could be built, and this criticism is not intended to be limited to Simon's work, which might even be better covered than most. What is needed is a sylloge of numismatic documents and records of the British Isles.

It is clear that one cannot hope to define the history of (Simon) issues solely from the physical evidence of examining almost every specimen, or at least type, thought to exist today. Simon's products were very popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, even before *Vertue*, so by now almost all of the material should have surfaced, with no ground burial problem to face, though there may still be a degree of concealment in strongboxes. With reservations, we have probably seen what there is to see, yet the relationship of the number of surviving specimens to the quantities that were produced cannot be established independently of original documentation.

The caveat is not to place great reliance on the low numbers of survivors in any numismatic area, not to assume that we know all the original records and notices, and to employ published secondary sources as guides only and with caution.

Therefore, a step backwards needs to be taken to this writer's paper on Dunbar medals, a study developed from the evidence of surviving examples, without recourse to documents, since none have surfaced. High survival rates were assumed at the time, and because of this and the meagre number of original medals known today, the writer concluded that there could not have been an issue of silver medals to the troops, and that an issue of gold medals to the officers was unlikely. The survival of five or six medals was hardly the stuff of general distributions.

The present study of naval medals makes it probable that, in an analogous manner, Simon did submit an account for his Dunbar work which, if known today, would change our understanding of this medal. Similar to the poor survival rate of naval medals (nine per cent), gold Dunbar medals of one or both sizes may well have been issued to the principal officers and perhaps even to junior officers, and most of these medals would have been melted in the seventeenth century. Survival into the next century would have increased their chances of coming down to the present, because collectors then began to provide a market that could compete better with the melt price from goldsmiths. Only the writer's opinion that there was no issue of silver medals to the thousands of troops has not changed, for those had a



sufficiently low value to have escaped the melting pot in far greater numbers than the two or so examples recorded today.<sup>74</sup>

We are fortunate to have Simon's 1657 account that includes the Lord Protector medal, although there may have been later records that were lost, leaving the known account to represent only a portion of the medals made. There is no documentation for the Funeral medal, so their survival figures mean nothing; it is clear that the Lord General medal was an unfinished product; and we have no documentation or accounts for the *production* of Cromwell coins, leaving them in a perpetual state of limbo. A recent Charles II/Simon paper by this writer might have benefited somewhat from a study into the PRO originals from which the *Calendar* entries were summarised.

Numismatists are usually well aware of the importance of combining their studies of the physical coins and medals with a thorough search and use of whatever documentation for their production and issue can be found, and they understand the potential consequences of historical records for their arguments. A more active partnership between numismatists and historians can be rewarding, if not indeed essential. Historians can provide primary source material and interpretations and illuminate the circumstances of a particular issue and, in turn, numismatists can make historians aware of distinctive characteristics and use that allow coins and medals to convey their own historical information. Unfortunately, studies are often forced to be developed in the absence of documents, requiring that numismatists first be certain that documents truly do not exist, and then stress the limitations and uncertainties that attend any such lack of records. These limitations may be particularly severe in the case of items of high intrinsic value and low original issue, with the survival rate often too small for statistics to offer assistance.

## APPENDIX A – SIMON'S ACCOUNTS

Public Records Office, State Papers, Domestic, cxliv, leafs 66, 67, 68 or, in their terminology, SP 18/144, 66–68. This writer's comments are in square brackets [ ], and the transcription is by Dr Bernard Capp. Simon's arithmetic is correct, with weights in agreement with those audited for payment by Barkstead (Appendix B). How individual weights could be considered so exact as to equal the sums is unclear, unless rings and chain links were used for adjustment, and even that is seldom consistent with the weights of specimens known today. These should be the original documents, transcribed for Simon from his notes, with each page verified by his signature, probably in his own hand. They were then copied into the minute book defined in Appendix C. The style of the accounts is much different from Simon's other ones of 1657 and 1665. No recipients are named, other than Penn for his additional chain.

[SP 18/144/leaf 66] .....  
[Navy's seal]

'23. August 1656

By the Comm<sup>ers</sup> for the Ad<sup>tie</sup> & Navie,

Whereas by twoe severall accompts delivered unto the said Comm<sup>ers</sup> by Mr Thomas Simon, there appeares to be due unto him the sume of Eleaven pounds eighteen shillings and Six pence (over and above the Two Thowsand pounds already reaceaved by him from the prize Office for the makeing of severall Gould Medalls & Chaines for the ffleet. It is ordered that it be referred to the Comm<sup>ers</sup> for the Navy to make out a bill unto the said Thomas Simon for the said sume of Eleaven pounds eighteen shillings & Six pence, being the ballance of the said Accompts.

John Clerke

Edw. Hopkins

Rob. Beake'

[endorsed] I [??] RM [initials]

<sup>74</sup> M. Lessen, 'The Cromwell Dunbar medals, by Simon', *BNJ* 51 (1981), 126–7. The discussion here is about the original, contemporary medals, and has nothing to do with restrikes or false dies. In light of such a low survival of naval medals this writer has to reconsider the question of the quantity of gold Dunbars that might have been made in 1651. The few Dunbars known today, at what was claimed in his paper to be a very high survival, had implied that there was no real distribution or issuance. Perhaps it now should be argued

that, although there could not have been a silver issue to the troops, maybe gold medals were given to the highest ranks, resulting in a poor, but no longer atypical, survival. In that case the major military figures at Dunbar would be the first candidates to consider for the gold medals, and then maybe *all* the other officers. There are no accounting records for the Dunbars. The two small naval medals of 1649 and 50 (MI 390/11 and Wyard's MI 390/12) similarly tend to imply very low survival, but figures here have not been researched.

[SP 18/144/leaf 67] .....

'1653. February the 25.th Delivered to the Hon<sup>ble</sup> The Com<sup>ers</sup> of The Admiralty and Navy one Meddall with a Large border and Chaîne of gold weighing as is here under mentioned.

March the 17.th more Delivered 17. gold Meddals with Large borders (Whereof 8 with gold Chaines) which were sent to the Lieut. of the Tower with their Hon<sup>ers</sup> letter directed to him for to receive them seeing their weight which was as here after is expressed.

1654. June the 13.th more Delivered by their Hon<sup>ers</sup> order to the Lieut. of the Tower 70. Meddals with Lesse borders, and 79. plaine all of gold which were weighed the 16.th instant, and found to weigh, particularly as followeth.

Meddals	£		ou.	dw.	gr.		ou.	dw.	gr.
2 )	300	Weigh pticularly	71.	—	12	e [??] rate Severaly	142.	1.	—
1 )	150		35.	9.	10		35.	9.	10
1 ) with Large borders & Chaines to them	100		23.	12.	10		23.	12.	10
5 )	40		9.	8.	10		47.	2.	2
9 with Large borders	10		2.	6.	20		21.	1.	12
70 of Lesse borders	7		1.	12.	14		114.	—	20
79 plaine of	4		—	18.	11		72.	18.	5

167		and Totally	456.	5.	11.
	Cost £3 11s. y <sup>e</sup> ou. is		[£] 1619.	15.	4½
For the ffashion of 456. ounces 5 penewts & 11 grains at 13s. 4.d the ounce is			[£] 304.	3.	7½
ffor Cases for the aforesaid 167. Meddals cost			[£] 14.	2.	—

June the 14.th Delivered to their Hon<sup>ers</sup> one Meddall weighing 18 peny Weight and 11 grains with a Case, given for Service donn in ye Triumph expressed on it

[£] 4. —. —

July the 22.th paid by their Hon<sup>ers</sup> order (of 21.st instant) to M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Edwards for ribbands to hang the Meddals

[£] 9. 17. 6

Restitution due for the Balance

[£] 1951. 18. 6  
[£] 48. 1. 6

Tho:Simon [Pl. 14, 25)]

[£] 2000.

'1653. January the 17.th Received out of the Prize Office by vertue of a Warrant bearing date the 2.d of Decemb<sup>r</sup> given to me by the Hon<sup>ble</sup> The Comm<sup>ers</sup> of The Admiralty and Navy for 1500. pounds, for gold Meddals (Whereof some with Chaines) for the Officers of the Fleete

[£] 1500 — —

1654. May. ye 11.th. more Recd. from the aforesaid Office by another Warrant from their Hon<sup>ers</sup> dated the 27.th of April for 500. pounds for the use aforesaid. Rec.

[£] 500 — —

Tho:Simon

[£] 2000 — —

[cover endorsed] 'Account of Meddals' .....

[SP 18/144/leaf 68] .....

'1655. March the 16. delivered unto the Hon<sup>ble</sup> The Com<sup>ers</sup> of the Admiralty and Navy an addition of chaine for Gen: Penns Meddall weighing as followeth

	oz	dw	gr	
1656. June the 14 delivered to their Hon <sup>ers</sup> a Medda <sup>l</sup>	7.	2.	7	[3415 gr = £30 cost to the navy]
and chaine weighing	7.	1.	7	[weight is unfortunately the sum of medal and chain,
so the medal type itself cannot be determined]				

is together	14.	3.	14.	cost	£ 3 11	y <sup>e</sup> o <sup>u</sup> . is	[£] 50.	6.	9
The fashion at 13.sh 4.pence ye ounce is ....							[£] 9.	9.	1
for a case for the said Meddall [singular] ....							[£] —	4.	2

Tho:Simon

[£] 60. — —



'Remaineth due unto the Hon<sup>ble</sup> The Com<sup>rs</sup> of the Admiralty and Navy upon account of the 2000. pounds imploied in Meddalls and chaines for the Officers of the Fleete, maid by Thomas Simon, and also by him delivered to their Hon<sup>rs</sup> in the year 1653, the 25th of February. 1. Meddall and chaine. The 17.th of March 17. Meddalles whereof 8. with chaines. In the year 1654, the 13.<sup>th</sup> of June delivered 149 Meddalles, and the 14.th of the same 1. Meddall more delivered which makes 168. [169 with the medal and chain of June 14, 1656, which he omitted in this summary] The weight of all beeing particula-zed in the account thereof given; wherein is comming to their Hon<sup>rs</sup> the some of

	.....	[£]	48.	1.	6
For the Balance of this account .....		[£]	11.	18.	6
		[£]	60.	—	—

Aug<sup>l</sup> 1656

Tho:Simon.'

[back cover endorsed] .....

'Mr. Symons 2<sup>d</sup> Accompt. 23 Aug<sup>l</sup> 1656. C A N [Commissioners for the Admiralty & Navy] for makeing out a bill to Thomas Symon for ye sume of £11 18s 6d to ballance his accompt in making gold Meddalls & chaines'

## APPENDIX B – BARKSTEAD'S CONFIRMING WEIGHTS

Public Records Office SP 18/84/39–40; very briefly summarized in *CSPD* 7 (1654) p. 516, referencing SPD lxxxiv. 22. These figures match those in Simon's account (Appendix A), remembering that the very first £300 medal to Blake or Monck was not part of this shipment. The meaning of the term 'double' is not known (probably strands). The writer's comments are in square brackets [ ].

[SP 18/84/leaf 39 covers endorsed] .....

'Colo Barkstead note of ye weight of ye Medalls 3 July 1654'

'These To y<sup>e</sup> Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Com<sup>rs</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Ad<sup>m</sup>ralty & Navy/[signed . ..]'

[SP 18/84/leaf 40] .....

'Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>

In answer to you<sup>r</sup> [?re?] of y<sup>e</sup> 16<sup>th</sup> March 1653 & yo<sup>r</sup> orders one of y<sup>e</sup> 13<sup>th</sup> June 1654 y<sup>e</sup> other of y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup>[?] July instant, I have delivered to M<sup>r</sup> John Powell & M<sup>r</sup> Symonds all those meddalls of Gold I formerly received from M<sup>r</sup> Symonds of the pticular weights whereof are as followes

		oz dw <sup>t</sup> gr
[Blake or Monck]	One greate meddall w <sup>th</sup> a Chaine 12 double	:71:00:12
[Penn]	One greate meddall w <sup>th</sup> a Chaine 6 double	:35:09:10
[Lawson]	One greate meddall w <sup>th</sup> a Chaine 4 double	:23:12:10
[flags]	five other meddalls w <sup>th</sup> chaines 2 double	
	each meddall weighing —————	:09:08:10
[no chains]	Nyne other meddalls w <sup>th</sup> out chaines	
	each meddall weighing —————	:02:06:20
	These being y <sup>e</sup> first 17 that I received weigh all —————	:198:05:22
[laurel]	70 Smaller meddalls weighing each	:01:12:14
[plaine]	79 Smaller meddalls weighing each	:00:18:11
	The totall of y <sup>e</sup> 2 last pcells is —————	:186:19:01
		oz dwt gr
	The total e <sup>th</sup> —————	385:04:23
	Not more but that I am	
Tower Lond		yo <sup>e</sup> . very humble serv <sup>t</sup>
July 3 <sup>d</sup> , 1654		Jo Barkstead '

## APPENDIX C – ADMIRALTY MINUTE BOOK

In the British Library, Additional MS 9305 comprises two Admiralty minute books, totalling 243 folios (486 pages). The first, folios 1–107, covers the period 19 April 1645 to 17 May 1648. The second, folios 108–243, covers the period 1 April 1656 to 31 March 1657. Folio 157 verso and recto, for 23 August 1656, is an exact and full copy of Simon's accounts shown in Appendix A, allowing for spelling differences, and is therefore not repeated here.

## APPENDIX D – FRANCOIS FAGEL

This information on the well-known Dutch collector, who owned the Royal Collection's medal illustrated in van Loon, was kindly written by Dr Gay van der Meer in a personal communication, 1996.

The archives of the Fagel family are preserved in the Dutch State Archive (Algemeen Rijksarchief, Prins Willem Alexanderhof 20, Den Haag). Many members of this family held official functions. Their archives contain many documents on official business, but also many private papers and letters. There is an inventory by N. M. Japikse, *Het Archief van de Familie Fagel's*, 's-Gravenhage 1964, comprising 5280 numbers.

Francois Fagel was the third of the five Fagels who became griffier (chief secretary) of the States-General of the Dutch Republic. At that time this was about equivalent to the function of Minister of Foreign Affairs. He is usually named Francois Fagel de Oude (the elder), to distinguish him from similarly named members of his family. He lived from 1659 to 1746, and was griffier from 1690 to 1744. He was succeeded in this function by his nephew Hendrik Fagel de Oude (1706–1790), to whom he also left his large medal collection. His successor and grandson Hendrik Fagel de Jonge (1765–1824) later inherited the collection. This Hendrik was in England as extraordinary ambassador when French troops occupied the Dutch Republic in 1795. Between 1798 and 1823 he also lived in England. [Tyssen's dates were 1756–1800] If the Fagel collection of medals was sold to Tyssen, as Hawkins says, he must have been the seller. There may be references to this sale in his private letters. Francois the elder often referred to his medals in his unpublished private letters (nos. 2024–2094), especially in his correspondence (in French) with his friend Philippe Baron de Stosch, who bought many medals for him in Italy.

There is a very good booklet with the title *Francois Fagel. Portret van een honnete homme*, by Dr J. Heringa, Assen 1982, ISBN 906011.109.5 (an offprint from *Jaarboek Die Haghe 1980*), which treats his character, life and work exhaustively, on the basis of his correspondence.

## KEY TO PLATES 6–14

Where oversized photographs are shown, they were the only direct ones available, in which cases photographs from other publications may be included to show actual size. None of the illustrations are from 1:1 contact prints, making precise measurements inadvisable.

## Trophy Large Border type (TLB):

- 1a steel die, negative normal, British Museum photograph.
- 1b steel die, negative reversed, British Museum photograph.
- 1c view of the steel die from a plaster cast by Keith Howes.
- 2 lead uniface restrike, and its reverse with the paper annotation, author
- 3 white metal uniface restrike, and its reverse with the ink annotation, author
- 4 print, engraving(?) which accompanied 2 and 3 and shows the die crack, author
- 5 silver plate restrike(?) MI 401/30, photographed from *Medallic Illustrations*.
- 6a TLB1 – William Penn's medal, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich No. L8, photographed from Mark Jones, *Art of the Medal*.
- 6b TLB1 – same with chain, *oversize*, National Maritime Museum photographs.
- 6c TLB1 – sketch of the case, not to scale.
- 6d TLB1 – the display at the National Maritime Museum.
- 7a TLB2 – Royal Collection, Windsor, *oversize*, Royal Collection copyright photograph, reproduced by gracious permission of Her Majesty The Queen.
- 7b TLB2 – same, plaster cast, photographed from Mayo, *Medals and Decorations of the British Army and Navy*.
- 8 TLB3 – Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; the commercial postcard.
- 9 TLB – cast in silver, Hunterian Museum photograph.
- 10 TLB – cast in silver, photographed from Hill and Pollard, *Medals of the Renaissance*.

- 11 TLB – cast in silver, photographed from the Stucker sale catalogue.

Laurel Lesse Border type (LLB):

- 12a LLB1 – William Haddock's, *oversize*. National Maritime Museum photograph.  
12b LLB1 – same, plaster cast, photographed from the Murdoch sale catalogue.  
13 LLB2 – British Museum photograph.

Plaine Borderless type (PB):

- 14 PB1 – photographed from the Heckett sale catalogue.  
15 PB2 – photographed from the Spink Auction 50 catalogue  
16 PB3 – John Clifton's, author.  
17 PB4 – British Museum photograph.  
18 PB5 – SAVING Y' TRIVMPH. British Museum photograph.  
19 PB6 – Roger Cuttance's. National Maritime Museum, photographed from the *Emmanuel College Magazine* plate, re-scaled.  
20 PB7 – Ashmolean Museum photograph.  
21 PB8 – Haddock's, photographed from the Murdoch sale catalogue.  
22 PB10 – photographed from the Col. Murray sale catalogue, re-scaled.  
23 PB15 – photographed from the Hamilton-Smith sale catalogue.  
24 PB – cast in silver. British Museum photograph.  
25 Excerpt from the account with Simon's (?) signature



1a



1b



1c



2





3



4



Simon's medallion  
of Blake's victory,



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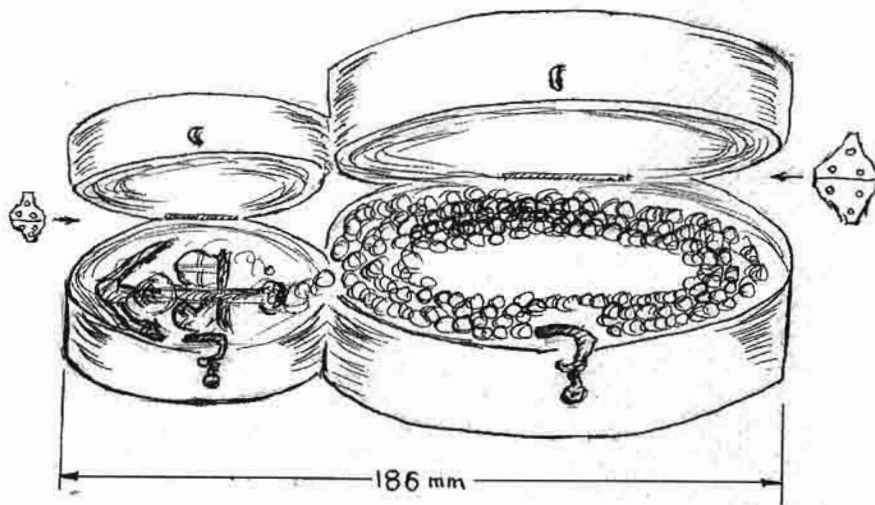


LESSON: COMMONWEALTH NAVAL MEDALS (2)





LESSEN: COMMONWEALTH NAVAL MEDALS (3)



6c



6d

LESSON: COMMONWEALTH NAVAL MEDALS (4)



7a



7b



7b





LESSER: COMMONWEALTH NAVAL MEDALS (6)







LESSEN: COMMONWEALTH NAVAL MEDALS (8)



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21



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24



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23

# QUARTER-SOVEREIGNS AND OTHER SMALL GOLD PATTERNS OF THE MID-VICTORIAN PERIOD

G. P. DYER

FROM the introduction of the guinea in 1663 to the demise of the circulating gold sovereign during the First World War, a certain continuity of structure is evident in the broad sweep of the milled gold coinage.

Leaving aside the international role of British gold coins, what we see in essence is a domestic circulation made up at first very largely of guineas and half-guineas, and then, from 1817, of the corresponding sovereigns and half-sovereigns. Throughout this long period of 250 years there was little use for gold coins of higher value; two-guinea and five-guinea pieces, for instance, were minted with increasing irregularity and died away completely after 1753, while two-pound and five-pound pieces later played so small and infrequent a part that in 1893 they could be regarded as hardly more than ornaments. At the other end of the scale, for gold coins below a half-guinea or a half-sovereign in value, there was apparently a similar lack of enthusiasm on the part of the British public.

It is at this lower end of the denominational range that my paper is directed, for what I want to do is to explain how it was that, against this discouraging background, misguided notions of issuing small gold coins should have built up a head of steam in the 1850s and 1860s before being rightly and sensibly derailed.

First, of course, let me acknowledge that small gold coins had not been entirely absent, for quarter-guineas had been struck in 1718 and 1762 and there had been issues of third-guineas, or seven-shilling pieces, between 1797 and 1813. But, significantly, the Mint Indenture placed the Master under no obligation to strike these quarters and thirds without an express order from the King or the Treasury, a provision that was necessary not to protect but to encourage a Mint that disliked the trouble of striking any small-size coins. Difficult to make, heavy on the dies, time-consuming to handle, their weights more variable than for larger coins, they were understandably unpopular with the Moneyers, as Sir Isaac Newton was called upon to explain to the Treasury Lords in December 1718 when the first issue of quarter-guineas ground to a halt after less than £10,000 had been coined.<sup>1</sup> When the Treasury insisted on a second issue in 1762 the Moneyers, Melter and Die Forger were ready with claims that effectively doubled the normal expense of coining gold. After discussion with the Master of the Mint, the Treasury at length conceded the claims, paying out nearly £1500 when the coinage was completed and the accounts settled in 1763.<sup>2</sup> Contemporary descriptions speak of these quarter-guineas coming

*Note.* This paper, which had its origin in a brief note which I read to the Society in January 1979, formed the second part of my 1997 Presidential Address. I have added footnotes and restored some paragraphs on quarter-guineas and third-guineas which, for want of time, were excluded from the spoken version. John Keyworth, Curator of the Bank of England Museum, very kindly helped me in my search of the Bank's records and I am also grateful for the comments of my Royal Mint colleague Kevin Clancy.

<sup>1</sup> For the attendance of Newton at the Treasury Board see PRO, T27/22, p. 383 and T29/24A, p. 123. Quarter-guineas were delivered by the Moneyers into the Mint Office on 26

November, 23 December and 31 December 1718, amounting in all to 210lbs and equivalent to 37,380 pieces at standard weight: PRO, Mint 9/189 and 7/130. The figure is confirmed by Anthony Pollett's notebook (BL, Royal, King's 68) and by Thomas Snelling in *A View of the Gold Coin and Coinage of England, from Henry the Third, to the Present Time* (London, 1763), p. 32, where he adds that 'they were mostly laid up as soon as delivered'.

<sup>2</sup> PRO, T29/34, pp. 262, 312, 315 and 321, and Mint 1/11, pp. 143–47 and 193. Between 27 August 1762 and 5 January 1763 the Moneyers delivered into the Mint Office a total of approximately 1,135,000 quarter-guineas.

back to the Mint during the gold recoinage of the 1770s and, to use Ruding's later phrase, being 'silently annihilated'.<sup>3</sup> This seems to have happened without regret and the nickname 'whore's curse' indeed suggests that one particular sector of society may have had positive reason to welcome their disappearance.<sup>4</sup>

Quarter-guineas were also out of favour with the Bank of England. Since 1758 the Bank had pressed for an experimental issue of third-guineas or seven-shilling pieces, believing that these would be better than the five-and-threepenny quarter-guineas on account of their more convenient value and, presumably, their larger size. The suggestion was resisted by the Mint, which condemned the third-guinea as an unnecessary addition to the coinage, a complication that by creating confusion in people's minds would open the doors to counterfeiters. And what would happen, asked the Mint in spoiling mood, if the twenty-one shilling rate for the guinea were to be adjusted? At what awkward value might the third-guinea then have to circulate? The Bank returned to the charge in later years, patterns were made in the mid-1770s, and the Bank eventually had its way in 1797.<sup>5</sup> Striking these new third-guineas was for the Mint as bad as striking the old quarters, and when the coinage was slow to proceed in the late autumn of 1797 the Deputy Master wrote plaintively that the dark days, the cold weather and the great number of the coins had combined to cause delay. Their production was to linger on until 1813, the coins circulating sufficiently to prompt the manufacture of counterfeits but making little contribution to the convenience of the public.<sup>6</sup>

While acknowledging that circumstances might not have been entirely propitious, especially for the third-guinea during the Napoleonic War, it is not unfair to say that the quarters and thirds failed to establish themselves as part of the gold currency. But what I also want to emphasise is that their issue was not a deliberate effort to extend the range of the gold coinage as such; that is to say, their issue did not stem from a desire for small, low-value gold coins for their own sake. On the contrary, they owed their origin to the hope that they might take the place of silver coins no longer to be found in circulation and their justification, therefore, was as a means of alleviating a shortage of silver that was to persist until the end of the eighteenth century and beyond. The thought, quite plainly, was that small gold coins would act as a substitute for large silver coins, and the third-guineas of 1797 were in fact specifically intended to replace the stamped Spanish dollars that the Bank had issued and then withdrawn during that momentous year for the British currency.<sup>7</sup>

It is accordingly no surprise that when the silver coinage was at last restored in 1817, when the twenty-shilling sovereign replaced the twenty-one-shilling guinea, no provision was made for a gold coin smaller than the half-sovereign. Yet little more than a generation later we find the existence of pattern quarter-sovereigns of 1853 and evidence that their possible issue was

<sup>3</sup> Rev. Rogers Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain and its Dependencies*, third edition (London, 1840), II, p. 124. See also Thomas Halton, *An Essay on Gold Coin* (London, 1773), pp. 1–2, Walter Merrey, *Remarks on the Coinage of England* (Nottingham, 1789), pp. 64–65, and Stephen Martin-Leake, *An Historical Account of English Money, from the Conquest to the Present Time*, third edition (London, 1793), Appendix p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Sir John Craig, personal communication, 23 April 1968. Sir John was unable to provide the source of his reference to the displeasure of loose women which appears in *The Mint* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 241 and gave 'harlot's curse' as a possible alternative. Stephen Martin-Leake, *An Historical Account of English Money, from the Conquest to the Present Time*, second edition (London, 1745), p. 414 says the coins were found 'too diminutive for Use', while Corby Morris, in *A Letter ... addressed to the Right Honourable the Earl of*

*Powis* (London, 1757), pp. 14–15 is especially critical of their practicality.

<sup>5</sup> The Bank's frequent recommendation of third-guineas is described by E. M. Kelly, *Spanish Dollars and Silver Tokens* (London, 1976), p. 5, while the Mint's hostile response of 7 April 1758 is to be found in full in PRO. Mint 1/11, pp. 57–58.

<sup>6</sup> PRO. Mint 4/21, James Morrison to Sir George Yonge, 22 November 1797: the total number of third-guineas struck between 1797 and 1813 was of the order of 9,400,000 pieces. For a reference to counterfeiting see *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 72 (March 1802), 270.

<sup>7</sup> John Conduitt, in his *Observations upon the Present State of our Gold and Silver Coins, 1730* (London, 1774), p. 36, says explicitly that quarter-guineas were ordered to be coined in 1718 'to supply the want of silver'. For a description of the circumstances in which third-guineas were issued in 1797 to replace dollars see Kelly, pp. 37–38.

being actively and officially contemplated. This seems to fly in the face of numismatic history, for it is hard to believe that such tiny gold coins – and at 1.9970 grammes and 13.5 millimetres quarter-sovereigns would certainly have been tiny – made more sense in 1853 than they had done previously. So why, it may be asked, should the Government have interested itself in a proposal that ran counter to the accumulated wisdom of the past, especially when the Mint had received a sharp reminder of that wisdom in 1834 when it had been obliged by public hostility to abandon an attempt, by reducing the diameter of the half-sovereign, to remove the risk of confusion with the sixpence?<sup>8</sup>

The answer is that in the early 1850s, through no fault of its own, the newly-reformed Royal Mint found itself in difficulty. This arose because a large demand for gold coin, prompted by the spectacular discoveries of gold in the United States and Australia, coincided with pressure for silver and copper, and though output of new coins rapidly climbed to almost unprecedented levels the Mint was unable to satisfy quickly enough the needs of the public (Table 1).<sup>9</sup> Copper was sub-contracted to Heaton's, first as blanks and then as coin, but because of the greater accuracy required this was not regarded as an acceptable option for gold or silver. The Deputy Master, Captain Harness, had been summoned back from extended leave of absence in October 1852 to assist the Master, Sir John Herschel.<sup>10</sup> But the Mint continued to struggle, and chief among the reasons why it struggled was the fact that, with demand for silver as insistent as the demand for gold, it could only handle one precious metal at a time. Though there were two melting houses, there was but one rolling room, and gold and silver could not be rolled at the same time because of the risk of contamination and because the rolling of gold required finer adjustment of the rolls.

TABLE 1. Output of Imperial gold and silver coins, 1846–55 (number of pieces)

<i>Year</i>	<i>Gold</i>	<i>Silver</i>	<i>Total</i>
1846	4,866,875	11,415,822	16,282,697
1847	5,649,752	2,123,286	7,773,038
1848	2,657,296	1,281,390	3,938,686
1849	2,600,511	2,054,778	4,655,289
1850	1,581,634	3,232,878	4,814,512
1851	4,787,197	3,292,568	8,079,765
1852	9,431,106	3,247,030	12,678,136
1853	13,306,789	12,078,946	25,385,735
1854	4,714,755	4,528,120	9,242,875
1855	9,568,844	4,379,309	13,948,153

*Source: Returns to the House of Commons*, 1847–48 (No. 601 of 7 August 1848), 1854 (No. 2 of 31 January 1854) and 1864 (No. 516 of 22 July 1864). The seeming accuracy of the figures is misleading in that, for the purpose of the Parliamentary Returns, they were based not on an exact count but on a calculation that assumed each coin to be of precisely standard weight.

Herschel had warned in May 1852 of 'alarming consequences' if pressure for gold were to necessitate a suspension of the supply of new silver coin.<sup>11</sup> His fears had been realised, and the

<sup>8</sup> G. P. Dyer, 'The Small Half-Sovereigns of William IV', *NCirc* (October 1978), 470–71.

<sup>9</sup> The exertions of the Mint are described by the Deputy Master, Captain Harness, in a memorandum of 22 December 1852, reproduced in *Report from the Royal Commission on International Coinage: together with the Minutes of Evidence and Appendix* (London, 1868), pp. 334–36.

<sup>10</sup> BL. Add. Ms. 44,333, fol. 22. Sir Charles Trevelyan to

Harness, 26 October 1852. For some idea of the strain suffered by Herschel see G. P. Dyer, 'One of the best men of business': Master of the Royal Mint' in D. G. King-Hele (ed.), *John Herschel 1792–1871: A Bicentennial Commemoration* (London, 1992), pp. 105–13.

<sup>11</sup> Herschel's memorandum of 5 May 1852 is reproduced in *Royal Commission on International Coinage, 1868*, pp. 325–26.



problem would continue to dog the Mint for years to come, the Deputy Master Charles Fremantle complaining in 1881 that 'no month passes without some inconvenience, from the fact that two metals cannot be coined together'. Experience had taught him, as it had previously taught Herschel and Harness, that demand for coins of the different metals could be 'very sharp, very sudden, and very large',<sup>12</sup> and his relief when a second rolling room was finally constructed in 1882 would have been no secret to readers of his published *Annual Reports*.

But to return to 1852, the shortfall in coin production involved the Bank of England and the Treasury as well as the Mint. On 15 December 1852 the three parties met at the Treasury and mapped out a short-term programme, first of gold and then of silver, that attempted to help everybody.<sup>13</sup> During February 1853 the Mint was again obliged to concentrate on gold, and Gladstone had to explain in the House of Commons on 7 March that the demand for gold was so pressing that there was no chance of production of silver.<sup>14</sup> The following month, on 18 April, the Secretary to the Treasury offered the House an assurance that the Mint had not been lacking in its duty and that progress was being made to meet the extraordinary demand for gold and silver. But he confessed that every day brought complaints to the Treasury of the most serious inconvenience being experienced by bankers and merchants in all parts of the country, and that unless the demand for gold fell away he was not sure what could be done.

It was at this point that the quarter-sovereign suddenly emerged into the discussion, and in a manner that has all the appearance of official collusion. Asked in a supplementary question whether there had been any discussion of the expediency of issuing quarter-sovereigns as a substitute for small silver, the Secretary to the Treasury conveniently divulged as if on cue that their possible issue was under consideration and that the Master of the Mint, as an experiment, had been directed to prepare a die. He acknowledged that there were arguments on both sides, and it clearly troubled him that in terms of value a coinage of quarter-sovereigns represented four times as much labour as an issue of sovereigns. Wherever the idea had originated, the Minister evidently had in the forefront of his mind the knowledge that since 1849 small gold dollars – smaller than the proposed quarter-sovereign and roughly four shillings in value – had been struck in some quantity in the United States. And indeed, while complaining of its excessive smallness, he actually held a gold dollar in his hand when he made his statement in the House on 18 April.<sup>15</sup>

By the end of April Sir John Herschel was able to submit to the Treasury two trial pieces, one denominated as QUARTER SOVEREIGN and the other as FIVE SHILLINGS but both of the same diameter as a Maundy twopence (Fig. 1). His accompanying report reads like a scientific paper as he demonstrated, with the benefit of incontrovertible mathematics, that the quarter-sovereign was likely to be an impossibly expensive coin. There was no concession to the argument that it might alleviate demand for silver during a production run on gold and, though he relied heavily on the consequences of active circulation, no explicit admission that the coin might be of service to the public.

Beginning with obvious criticisms, he suggested that its small size would render it peculiarly liable to loss – a loss that would be serious to a labouring man – and that because it would not ring and because its weight could only be checked by delicate scales counterfeits would be less easy to detect. Then, moving up a gear, he demonstrated that the loss of weight

<sup>12</sup> *Report from the Select Committee on London City Lands (Thames Embankment) Bill [H.L.]; together with the Proceedings of the Committee. Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix* (London, 1881), pp. 14 and 30.

<sup>13</sup> PRO, T1/5788A (file 2001/1853). The attendance of Herschel and Harness at the meeting is briefly referred to in Herschel's diary (Royal Society, Ms 585, 15 December 1852), where Herschel significantly indicates the silver coinage to have been the subject of the meeting.

<sup>14</sup> *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser. 124, col. 1223 (7 March 1853).

<sup>15</sup> *Parliamentary Debates*, 3rd ser. 125, cols 1349–50 (18 April 1853), but this needs to be read in conjunction with the report that appeared in *The Times* on 19 April 1853. The coinage of gold dollars in the United States had been authorised by an act of 3 March 1849, reproduced in *Laws of the United States relating to the Coinage* (Washington, 1904), pp. 37–38.



Fig. 1 The quarter-sovereign patterns of 1853, shown alongside a United States gold dollar of 1849.

by wear and tear would be greater than that of the sovereign and, value for value, very much greater because of its larger surface area in proportion to its weight and because of what he presumed would be its more rapid rate of circulation, the coin being as he supposed always at work in the purse or in the hand, with few or no instances of repose. The result, he calculated, was that four gold quarter-sovereigns would wear at six times the rate of a single sovereign.

Pursuing the effects of wear and tear, he estimated that nearly ten per cent of the coins would wear below their least current weight each year and need to be replaced. The expense of minting plus the subsequent cost of maintaining quarter-sovereigns in circulation would therefore rise to almost fifteen times that of the same value of sovereigns, and that, bad as it was, still left out of account the cost to the public of the actual loss of gold, either from abrasion or from the physical disappearance of coins. Nor in his demolition of the quarter-sovereign did he forget to point out that the small size of the coin and the tiny permissible variation in weight that could be allowed in coining would increase the number of rejects and delay production. All that is missing is a reference to the unfortunate precedent of the quarter-guinea but, unspoken though that might be, who can doubt that Herschel's attitude had been informed by long-standing Mint hostility to small gold coins and that, wherever the proposal had come from, it had not originated at his door?<sup>16</sup>

Herschel's report is dated 29 April 1853 and during the course of the next month, somewhat fortuitously, the possibility of quarter-sovereigns was given a public airing by the investigations of a Parliamentary Select Committee into decimal coinage. Both Herschel and Thomson Hankey, the late Governor of the Bank of England, were specifically asked by the Committee about their desirability, a question which they had evidently expected for both came to the Committee armed with written notes on the subject. Hankey in his evidence on 3 May, while not denying that the coin might be of very great convenience to the public, resisted the notion of reducing it to token status and repeated the argument of expense that had appeared in Herschel's official report; indeed, by proposing a tighter limit for wear he enabled an even blacker picture to be painted of the cost of maintaining quarter-sovereigns in circulation.<sup>17</sup> Herschel, questioned three weeks later on 26 May, made use of Hankey's new figure and now offered the opinion that, value for value, quarter-sovereigns would cost as much to make and to maintain as not fifteen but twenty-four sovereigns. His arguments otherwise followed much the same course as before, repeating his view that an active circulation, with the coin 'never at rest

<sup>16</sup> PRO, Mint 1/42, pp. 146–49. The two patterns are described by W. J. Hocking, *Catalogue of the Coins, Tokens, Medals, Dies, and Seals in the Museum of the Royal Mint*, 1, *Coins and Tokens* (London, 1906), p. 192, nos. 2204 and 2205. All known pieces reportedly have a plain edge and there is nothing in Herschel's report to suggest that a milled edge was intended for such a small coin. How many were made is uncertain but Mint 6/5, fol. 91 and Mint 6/58, fol. 40 suggest that twelve were taken onto Mint account in August 1854. By 1871

none were left, having apparently been disposed of and replaced by their value in money during Herschel's period in office: Mint 1/47, pp. 201–02, Fremantle to Treasury, 25 March 1871.

<sup>17</sup> *Report from the Select Committee on Decimal Coinage: together with the Proceedings of the Committee, Minutes of Evidence, Appendix, and Index* (London, 1853), pp. 9–10. Hankey assumed a least current weight of 30.63 grains as against the more generous figure of 30.50 grains on which Herschel had based his original calculations.

in the banker's reserve, or in the old stocking', would make it a most wasteful coin and, if people did not trouble to weigh it, place it at the mercy of sweaters and forgers.<sup>18</sup>

William Miller of the Bank of England, conscious of public objection to small coins such as the silver threepence, was also hostile.<sup>19</sup> Two or three other witnesses were more sympathetic, displaying erudition rather than common sense in dredging up the precedent not just of the quarter-guinea but also of the gold penny of Henry III,<sup>20</sup> but it is significant that in the Committee's subsequent recommendation of the £/mil system it found no place for the decimal equivalent of a gold quarter-sovereign.

Official records now fall silent but, plainly, whatever experience might be on the other side of the Atlantic – and the inquiries of the late Governor may not have been wide of the mark in suggesting that many Americans disliked the small size of the gold dollar<sup>21</sup> – a Treasury that may be suspected of being at best lukewarm was hardly likely to take on the Bank and the Mint. The project, indeed, must have died quickly, for it seems doubtful that Herschel, as Master of the Mint, would have spoken to the Select Committee so openly and so negatively unless he had already been aware that the Treasury intended to shelve the proposal.

Six years later, in November 1859, the idea was revived and, of all places, at the Royal Mint, where Herschel had been succeeded as Master by the chemist Thomas Graham. Though demand for gold and silver had subsided to levels with which the Mint could generally cope, Graham's memorandum of 1 November 1859, addressed to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, set out the case for the quarter-sovereign as a coin that would usefully assist the giving of change for ten shillings now that the silver crown was out of favour with the public. As Graham well knew, the French since 1854 had joined the Americans in issuing a small gold coin and, as he also knew, both the French and Americans had found it possible to increase the diameter of their coins by making them thinner. This seemed to Graham to promise a quarter-sovereign that would be more practical than that turned down in 1853 and he confidently told the Chancellor that, when time permitted, he would have no difficulty in preparing an improved pattern (Table 2). As for Herschel's arguments, these were countered not by science or mathematics but by the suggestion that the small size of the gold coin would cause it to be better cared for and lead to a more general and welcome use of the *porte-monnaie*, and by the disingenuous notion that the rapid rate of wear might not impede circulation as the loss of weight would be ignored by the public.<sup>22</sup>

TABLE 2. Specifications of quarter-sovereigns, dollars and five-franc pieces

<i>Denomination</i>	<i>Fineness of Gold (parts per 1000)</i>	<i>Weight (grammes)</i>	<i>Diameter (millimetres)</i>
Pattern quarter-sovereign, 1853	916.67	1.9970	13.5
United States dollar			
(a) 1849–1854	900	1.6718	13.0
(b) 1854–1889	900	1.6718	15.0
French five francs			
(a) 1854–1855	900	1.6129	14.0
(b) 1856–1869	900	1.6129	17.0

Source: PRO, Mint 1/42, p. 146 for the quarter-sovereign, with the weight and diameter converted from grains and inches; R. S. Yeoman, *A Guide Book of United States Coins*, 50th edition 1997 (Racine, 1996), pp. 189–91; and, for the French five-franc piece, *Preliminary Report of the Decimal Coinage Commissioners* (London, 1857), pp. 200–01.

<sup>18</sup> *Select Committee*, pp. 56–57.

<sup>19</sup> *Select Committee*, p. 120.

<sup>20</sup> *Select Committee*, pp. 121–23 and 138.

<sup>21</sup> *Select Committee*, p. 10.

<sup>22</sup> PRO, Mint 8/36, pp. 79–81, Memorandum for the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the florin, half-crown and a new gold five-shilling piece, 1 November 1859.

Graham's support for the quarter-sovereign was briefly repeated in a second memorandum for the Chancellor on 16 November, when he compounded his error of judgement by using the quarter-guinea as a precedent and also by suggesting that the circulation of quarter-sovereigns would be a prudent anticipation of the consequences of a progressive rise in the value of silver.<sup>23</sup> Such arguments were unlikely to appeal to Gladstone, who had meanwhile wisely written to Michel Chevalier, the French political economist, for information on the acceptability of the gold five-franc piece. From Chevalier he soon learned that the French coin was far from a success, having a tendency to slip through the fingers and to be a nuisance to count. This reply he forwarded to Graham and, though the Master asserted somewhat unconvincingly in response that the coin had nevertheless found its admirers, it is clear that in the cautious and well-informed Chancellor the floundering Graham had more than met his match.<sup>24</sup>

If the quarter-sovereign had fought and lost its last real battle,<sup>25</sup> the idea of a small gold coin was to prove for a time surprisingly tenacious, with interest now switching to a gold double-florin or four-shilling piece. An early and unexpectedly vocal advocate was Robert Baker, one of the Factory Inspectors who reported to the Home Secretary. Outspoken, even tactless, his official reports make unaccustomed reading and in 1861 he devoted a paragraph to the seemingly irrelevant suggestion that there should be a gold double-florin, its gold content bolstered by sufficient alloy to make it a convenient size. Baker's argument was that working class persons did not like to break into gold, so that those who received such a coin would be unwilling to spend it and would thereby be encouraged in habits of sobriety and thrift; from these habits would 'spring up a higher notion of personal dignity, and of the responsibilities of man as a creature, and of a working man as a unit, in the integral prosperity of the country'. This would be a remarkable, not to say unbelievable, piece of social engineering for a coin to achieve, and what perhaps is more interesting is the sharp contrast between Baker's view of the gold double-florin as a savings coin and Herschel's expectation that the gold quarter-sovereign would never be at rest.<sup>26</sup>

Baker was still of the same mind in 1868, by which time he had taken it upon himself to prepare an appropriate design for the coin and had been given loquacious public support by the Birmingham merchant Alfred Field. As well as repeating the same high-flown arguments of his friend Baker and stressing its usefulness in change-giving, Field also claimed from personal experience that the American gold dollar was 'one of the most convenient coins that a man could possibly have'.<sup>27</sup>

A gold double-florin needed more convincing support than this, and in fact by 1868 it was being seriously advocated from an entirely different quarter and for entirely different reasons. This came about as a result of an increasing interest in the idea of an international coinage, which in the words of Ernest Seyd would 'materially promote the progress of civilisation, and the general welfare of mankind'.<sup>28</sup> The most likely scheme would require the gold content of

<sup>23</sup> PRO, Mint 8/36, pp. 82-89, Memorandum for the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the metallic currency, 16 November 1859.

<sup>24</sup> For Chevalier's reply see BL, Add. Ms. 44,127, Chevalier to Gladstone, 8 November 1859, while Graham's response is to be found in Add. Ms. 44,392, Graham to Gladstone, 19 November 1859.

<sup>25</sup> A letter register gives reason to think that in January 1879 Fremantle may have submitted a memorandum to the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the objections to coining five-shilling pieces in gold but the circumstances are not clear: PRO, Mint 21/15, no. 994. The quarter-sovereigns of 1911 and

1922 which are sometimes encountered are modern counterfeits: one such piece was described by F. Pridmore in 'A Fantasy Quarter Sovereign 1922', *NCirc* (December 1969), 415.

<sup>26</sup> *Reports of the Inspectors of Factories to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, for the Half Year ending 30th April 1861* (London, 1861), Baker's report, p. 43.

<sup>27</sup> *Royal Commission on International Coinage, 1868*, pp. 49-50.

<sup>28</sup> Ernest Seyd, *Bullion and Foreign Exchanges* (London, 1868), p. 584.



the British sovereign and the American five-dollar piece to be made exactly equal to twenty-five francs in France, so that a gold double-florin and a gold dollar would be equivalent to the French five-franc piece. Such uniformity appealed to an influential international lobby of men of science and had been given impetus by the great international exhibitions of the 1850s and 1860s which had highlighted the inconvenient and troublesome variations in weights, measures and currency from nation to nation.<sup>29</sup> Among these scientists was Graham himself, who was plainly at one with 'the now prevailing desire for simplicity and general uniformity of coinage' as exemplified by the establishment of the Latin Monetary Union in 1865.<sup>30</sup> An advocate of decimal as well as international coinage,<sup>31</sup> he was ready to consider fundamental reform of the British coinage, even to the extent of replacing the traditional alloys of twenty-two carat gold and sterling silver with the Continental and American standard of 900 parts per 1000.<sup>32</sup>

Given this personal enthusiasm for the cause, Graham must have welcomed the opportunity in the summer of 1867, along with Charles Rivers Wilson of the Treasury, to represent Britain at the International Monetary Conference summoned to meet in Paris at the invitation of the French Government. There the delegates voted by a large majority in favour of a universal gold standard in which all gold coins, of the fineness of 900 parts per 1000, would be of the value of five francs or multiples of that sum. Misgivings were expressed about the small size and small value of the French five-franc piece and, despite Graham's previous championship of such coins, the British representatives voted against the proposal.<sup>33</sup> Graham's preference had in fact been for a ten-franc unit, which he favoured not merely because it was larger in size and value but also because it lent itself better to decimal subdivision. Indeed, before travelling to Paris for the Conference, he had prepared two pattern coins, one a gold ducat and the other a silver franc (Fig. 2).<sup>34</sup> The ducat corresponded to the French ten-franc piece and Graham would have fitted it into the British system by making it a coin of 100 pence, achieved by devaluing the penny by about four per cent. He failed to carry the day in Paris, but delegates acknowledged that, though five francs might be the unit, there would be no obligation for countries to produce gold coins of that value.

Graham revived the ten-franc proposal in the report of 2 December 1867 which he prepared jointly with Rivers Wilson after the Conference. Now, however, instead of a ducat, the ten-franc unit took the form of a 'metrical pound' with the same gold content as the ten francs but with its face value unadjusted at eight shillings to produce a coin of token status and limited legal tender. At first this new coin, which would not correspond to the

<sup>29</sup> This growing interest is summarised in *Royal Commission on International Coinage, 1868*, p.v., and described at greater length by H. W. Chisholm, Warden of the Standards, in an appendix to the *Second Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Condition of the Exchequer (now Board of Trade) Standards* (London, 1869), pp. 93–123.

<sup>30</sup> PRO. Mint 1/45, pp. 534–37, Graham to Treasury, 8 March 1867.

<sup>31</sup> As well as private indications of his support, for instance to the American Professor John Alexander in June 1859 (PRO. Mint 1/43, pp. 120–21) and to J. S. Stas in Brussels in September 1866 (Mint 1/45, pp. 445–46), Graham as one of the Commissioners attached his signature in April 1869 to the Second Report of the Standards Commission which drew attention to the advantages of an international system of coinage and, failing that, to the convenience of a decimal system at home.

<sup>32</sup> See, for instance, PRO. Mint 1/45, pp. 102–03; also p. 33 of the proceedings of the International Statistical Congress

held in Berlin in September 1863, published as *Return to the House of Commons*, 1864 (No. 268 of 26 April 1864).

<sup>33</sup> The proceedings of the Paris Conference are most conveniently to be found in the *Royal Commission on International Coinage, 1868*, pp. 162–89. Uniformity, as with the coins of the Latin Monetary Union, was not thought to require identity of design.

<sup>34</sup> The preparation of dies for the ducat and the franc is referred to in Leonard Wyon's diary (BL. Add. Ms. 59,617, entries for 26 March and 29 May 1867) and the dies are inventoried against the dates 16 April and 27 May 1867 in PRO. Mint 14/15, p. 339, so that Graham could conceivably have taken pattern coins with him to Paris for the opening of the Conference on 17 June. The patterns are described by Hocking, I, p. 197, nos. 2296–2297 and 2300–2301: examination shows the two pattern ducats in the Royal Mint collection, perhaps surprisingly, to have been made of the British standard of twenty-two carat gold but the two pattern francs, as might have been expected, appear to be of 900 silver.





Fig. 2 The pattern gold ducat and silver franc of 1867.

weight/value relationship of the sovereign and the half-sovereign, might simply be an addition to the existing coinage in order to provide Britain with an international coin, but it would also give scope for a decimal coinage were it to be subsequently divided into 100 devalued pennies.<sup>35</sup> No trial pieces were struck to illustrate the proposal, but two cards of drawings have survived, apparently the work of the Mint's Resident Engraver, T. J. Minton (Fig. 3).<sup>36</sup>

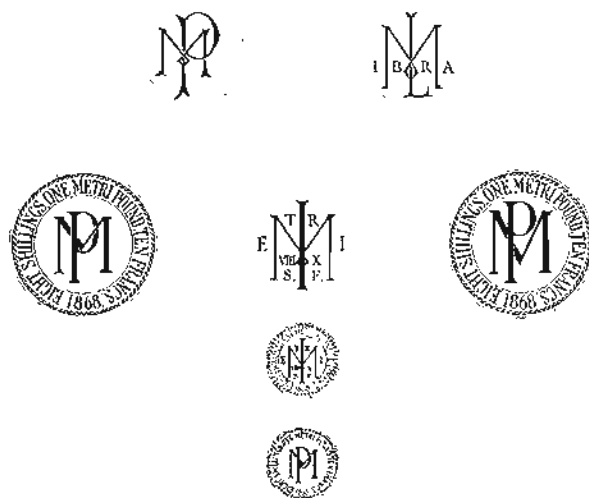


Fig. 3 One of the cards of drawings, reproduced at half actual size, for the metrical pound.

<sup>35</sup> *Royal Commission on International Coinage, 1868*, pp. 190–93. If eight shillings were thought too low to be the unit of computation, Graham and Rivers Wilson believed their

'metrical pound' could be increased by a factor of ten.

<sup>36</sup> The two cards of drawings are to be found in PRO. Mint 13/242.

Whatever the size of the unit, the real problem was that the recommendation of the Paris Conference would have required an adjustment in the weight standard of British gold coins. A unified currency as proposed would have involved a slight reduction in the gold content of the sovereign,<sup>37</sup> leading to the eventual withdrawal of all the coins in circulation, and not surprisingly this was to prove a step too far for the British Government. Confident in the stability of the British currency system and with no wish to 'create a feeling of uneasiness in the public mind', the Government had sent representatives to Paris merely as a diplomatic response to the French invitation and had instructed those representatives to act only as observers, with no authority to commit the Government to any future course of action.<sup>38</sup> Yet the Government felt that it could not ignore the request that now emanated from Paris that, in the light of the discussions at the Conference, countries should consider their positions and indicate where they stood on the question of uniformity of coinage. For Britain this inevitably meant a Royal Commission, appointed in February 1868 with Graham as a member and Rivers Wilson as secretary.



Fig. 4 The double-florin pattern of 1868, with the larger-size versions of the American gold dollar and the French five-franc piece for comparison.

Presumably to assist the deliberations of the Commission, Graham within days of its appointment had asked Leonard Wyon to prepare designs for a gold double-florin to match the French five-francs.<sup>39</sup> Though lighter than a quarter-sovereign, the resulting pattern pieces (Fig. 4) were noticeably larger at sixteen millimetres than Herschel's patterns of 1853, having been made, it seems, in the French and American standard of 900 gold and, in keeping with Graham's views in 1859, a good deal thinner. Their purpose was rendered entirely unambiguous by the inclusion in their design of the value FIVE FRANCS and the word INTERNATIONAL as well as DOUBLE FLORIN, but if they had an effect it was evidently not positive. What emerged when the Commission made its somewhat pusillanimous report in July was a guarantee of the *status quo*, the Commission recognising on the one hand the desirability in principle of uniformity and on the other that its practical achievement would require international agreement, the prospect of which was not advanced by the Commissioners' apparent preference for a system based on the British sovereign. Graham's metrical pound, unless it were to form part of a completely new system of currency, was

<sup>37</sup> Assimilation of the British currency to that of France would have required the reduction of the fine gold content of a sovereign from 113.001 to 112.008 grains: *Royal Commission on International Coinage*, 1868, p. xii.

<sup>38</sup> *Royal Commission on International Coinage*, 1868, pp. 160–61. By voting, Graham and Rivers Wilson may be thought to have gone beyond their instructions but no rebuke was apparently administered.

<sup>39</sup> Wyon's pocketbook records the commission against the date 26 February 1868 (BL. Eg. Ms. 3812) and the coin is described by Hocking, I, p. 197, nos. 2298 and 2299. Two specimens, one with a plain edge and the other milled, were apparently presented to Disraeli: Sotheby, Wilkinson & Hodge, *Catalogue of the Valuable Collection of Coins and Medals, the Property of the late John G. Murdoch, Esq.*, Third Portion (15–19 March 1904), lot 518.

condemned as too close in size and value to the half-sovereign, while to Graham's double-florin the Commissioners made no direct reference at all.<sup>40</sup>

Again, therefore, the idea of a small, low-value, circulating gold coin failed to leave the starting gate. Graham, who had hankered after such a coin throughout his Mastership, died in 1869 and the Mint came into the responsible hands of Charles Fremantle, a career civil servant not given to intellectual flights of fancy and upon whom the Treasury could rely to support the official line. But in any case the international tide was soon to turn against small gold coins, with the collapsing price of silver from the early 1870s encouraging Governments to extend the role of silver coins at the expense of gold. In France the minting of the gold five-francs lapsed after 1869 and in the United States production of the gold dollar dwindled to a level where it was only just kept alive by the demands of jewellers and collectors.<sup>41</sup> And at home, far from thinking of gold quarter-sovereigns or gold double-florins, the Government in 1886 contemplated complete abolition of the half-sovereign and the following year introduced a silver double-florin and revived the silver crown.<sup>42</sup>

In other words, in the space of a generation, pressure for the downward extension of the gold coinage had given way to the upward extension of silver. But such was the inherent conservatism of the British public that both attempts were equally doomed and, for practical purposes, the currency remained restricted to a more limited and traditional range of denominations.

<sup>40</sup> *Royal Commission on International Coinage, 1868*, pp. v–xviii.

<sup>41</sup> For the lack of popularity of the five-franc piece see, for instance, PRO, Mint 13/159, memorandum from Fremantle to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 5 October 1886; H. P. Willis, *A History of the Latin Monetary Union* (Chicago, 1901), pp. 191–92; and *Enquête sur la Question Monétaire* (Paris, 1872), I, pp. 94, 169, 191, 517 and 685, and II, pp. 107, 117, 155, 286 and 327. A useful summary of the history of the gold dollar is

to be found in Q. David Bowers, *The History of United States Coinage as illustrated by the Garrett Collection* (Los Angeles, 1979), pp. 276–77. Its discontinuance was recommended in the *Annual Report of the Director of the Mint to the Secretary of the Treasury for the Fiscal Year ended June 30, 1889* (Washington, 1889), pp. 51–52, and approved by Congress in September 1890.

<sup>42</sup> G. P. Dyer, 'Gold, Silver and the Double-Florin', *BNJ* 64 (1994), 114–25.

# THE CAMEL THAT NEVER WAS: BRITISH NOTE ISSUES FOR CEYLON, 1800–1941

VIRGINIA HEWITT

FOR many centuries money circulating in Sri Lanka reflected not so much that country's history as the identities of many other nations with commercial or political interests in the island, as traders or rulers. This is certainly true of the paper money issued during the British administration. The present article looks at various note issues which were printed in England for circulation in Ceylon during the period 1800 to 1941.<sup>1</sup> Within a broad chronological framework, I have chosen to focus on government notes and some commercial bank issues, looking particularly at their designs, how they were influenced, and what they may tell us about the mother country's perception of an overseas possession with a very different culture.<sup>2</sup> In the case of Ceylon, British note issues display continuing representation of British authority, and European neo-classical imagery combined with romantic and sometimes curious depictions of the colony. By the end of the period, however, more naturalistic views of Ceylon presaged political change and self-government.

The first paper money in Ceylon was issued by the Dutch in 1785, in the form of notes called Kredit Brieven which were denominated in rixdollars. When the British took over as colonial rulers in 1796, they assumed responsibility for that note issue, and in 1800 the British Government in Ceylon produced its own Treasury notes. The governor later explained that 'The great inconvenience of circulating copper money (which is the established currency of these Settlements) induced me in the month of March last to issue promissory notes on the Public Treasury to the amount of 30,000 rix-dollars'. Apparently the notes were readily accepted: 'The convenience and utility of these notes were soon perceived, not only by the Europeans, but the native inhabitants of the Colony, which induced me to make a further issue to the extent of 45,000 rix-dollars . . . These notes are generally 25, 50 and 100 rix-dollars each, bear no interest, but are merely considered as the substitute of so much copper money, and made exchangeable at the Treasury for their amount on demand.'<sup>3</sup> The notes may have been welcomed by the indigenous population, but their design made it quite clear who was now in charge. In the top left corner they carried a small seated figure of Britannia with a trident, an olive branch and a shield bearing the Union Jack, all framed by a circle of foliage. This image, and indeed the overall appearance of the notes, is strongly reminiscent of notes issued by the Bank of England at the same period.

<sup>1</sup> This article is a corrected and slightly revised version of a lecture first given at a conference in Colombo in September 1994, and then to the British Numismatic Society in London in May 1995. The Colombo paper has been published under the title 'Currency for a Colony: Paper Money for Ceylon' in *Origin, Evolution and Circulation of Foreign Coins in the Indian Ocean*, edited by Osmund Bopearachchi and D.P.M. Weerakkody (New Delhi, 1998). I am most grateful to Osmund Bopearachchi for encouraging me to work on this subject, and to William Barrett for generously sharing the information in his own collection and research notes. Warm thanks are also due to David Beech of the Philatelic Section of the British Library, and the staff of the Royal Philatelic

Society, London, especially the Olivers, for granting me access to their material.

<sup>2</sup> I have explored these themes further with a broader survey of paper money in British colonies, in 'A distant view: imagery and imagination in the paper currency of the British Empire, 1800–1960', to be published in a forthcoming volume *Nation-states and Money: The past, present and future of national currencies*, edited by Emily Gilbert and Eric Helleiner of the University of Toronto.

<sup>3</sup> Governor North, 18 February 1801, quoted in R. Chalmers, *A History of Currency in the British Colonies* (London, 1893), p. 352.

The assertion of British influence became more pronounced in 1825, when the government decided that for the sake of consistency, it would introduce sterling currency into all British colonies. A new silver currency was planned, to provide 'unobjectionable and unvarying medium for the payment of troops and . . . a uniform currency in the whole of his Majesty's Foreign possessions founded upon and having reference to the currency of the United Kingdom'.<sup>4</sup> A Treasury Minute noted that the currency of Ceylon was 'very various, and consists of rix dollars coined in England for its use, of many of the coins of India, of Spanish dollars, and of paper rix dollars'.<sup>5</sup> (It was also remarked that colonial staff were complaining because of the depreciation of the silver rixdollars in which their salaries were paid!)<sup>6</sup> It is clear that the new policy was driven less by ideological principles of colonial rule than by the desire for pragmatism and expediency in administration. It was brought into effect by an Order in Council of 23 March 1825 and local regulations in the colonies. In Ceylon, legislation in July 1825 provided for the introduction of sterling currency and set rates of exchange for the foreign coins in circulation. A further regulation in 1827 authorised a new General Treasury issue of sterling notes, in a range of values from £1 to £50, and payable at the Treasury on demand.<sup>7</sup>

I am not aware of any surviving issued notes from this series, but several unissued examples and proofs indicate what was intended. The vignettes on the notes were the work of Silvester, a London engraver who produced notes for many private local banks in towns throughout Britain. Much of the paper money used in her colonies was printed in Britain, and it is perhaps to be expected that the imagery drew heavily on the iconography used on British banknotes. In this instance, comparing Silvester's design for the Ceylon five pound Treasury note with his work for the General Bank in Plymouth reveals several similarities. (Pl. 15, 1-2) Each features a graceful female allegorical figure, with little wings symbolising communication in her hair, and holding a caduceus, the winged staff indicating that she is a messenger offering peace, protection and health. Both vignettes include a large package or packages, suggesting trade and export – appropriate images for Plymouth, a major sea-port, and for Ceylon where profit earned through exports was clearly appealing to her colonial masters. However, there were also attempts to give the Ceylon Treasury notes some local colour. The one pound and two pound notes carried vignettes of Britannia, each with an elephant in the background; the image on the one pound note also included a pagoda and distant palm trees. The palm tree appears again on the five pound note, but this time the female allegory is accompanied not by an elephant, but by two camels kneeling quietly while she holds their reins. It is a delightful but surprising scene, not least because the camel is not indigenous to Ceylon. Unfortunately we do not know who chose this design, but we may suspect that these creatures were the engraver's attempt to find what he thought was an appropriate emblem for South Asia.

A major change in the design of the Treasury notes was introduced in 1850. The new notes were printed by Perkins Bacon and Company, a London engraving and printing firm started by an American, Jacob Perkins, who came to Britain in 1819 hoping to get a contract printing Bank of England notes. He failed in that ambition, but did establish one of Britain's foremost security printing firms, producing notes for many local British banks and for countries overseas. Records relating to the production of notes for Ceylon are contained in surviving records of the firm.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>4</sup> See B.W. Fernando, *Ceylon Currency: British Period 1796-1936* (Colombo, 1939), p. 5.

<sup>5</sup> Treasury Minute of 11 February 1925; see Chalmers, as in n. 3, pp. 355 and 422.

<sup>6</sup> As in n. 3, pp. 422-3.

<sup>7</sup> See Chalmers, as in n. 3, p. 355, and Fernando, as in n. 4, pp. 5-6 and 25. The general Order in Council is reproduced in

Chalmers on p. 425. In practice the attempt to make sterling the standard unit of currency in Ceylon failed, largely because of the prevalence of Indian coins and fluctuating Indian rates of exchange.

<sup>8</sup> The following quotes and references come from the Perkins Bacon archives held in the Royal Philatelic Society (RPS), London.



In November 1849 Perkins Bacon wrote to the Agent for the Colonies (then George Baillie) with regard to Ceylon, quoting prices for watermark moulds, 'the best Bank Note Paper', preparing printing plates, and printing the notes. They must have had a favourable reply, because later in the same month they wrote again, sending drawings of the one pound, two pound and five pound notes for approval. They went on to say:

We note your remarks as to the importance of a distinctive character in each of the denominations, and have endeavoured by means of elaborate and combined Engine work to attain that object . . . The Singhalese and Malabar Characters shall be carefully copied and engraved on each note.<sup>9</sup>

The copy of the letter in the Perkins' archive does not include copies of the drawings, but many unissued examples of the notes have survived. (PL 16, 3) The designs combined a hand-engraved vignette with a panel of microscopic lettering and borders and medallions of abstract patterns engraved by machine – the 'engine work' referred to in the letter. These complex ornamental patterns were produced by a geometric lathe and were particularly suitable for steel-engraving, because the hardness of this metal, as compared with copper, allowed accurate reproduction of very fine detail. Perkins was noted for banknote designs using this technique, in which he made pioneering developments, although other firms also made good use of the medium. The basic format for all the Ceylon Treasury notes was the same, but each denomination was distinguished by variations of shape and pattern in the machine-engraved sections and in the lettering used for the word 'CEYLON' at the top centre of each note. Despite their earnest promise, the printers had less success with the (to them) foreign languages, for the Sinhalese texts contained non-existent characters and nonsensical words.<sup>10</sup> It is not certain, however, whether this was the fault of the engraver or of the source provided by the governor.

The same vignette was used on all denominations, and showed a helmeted Britannia with trident, shield, and lion; packages for export and a cornucopia spilling out fruit; and behind her, an elephant, palm tree and ships at sea. (PL 16, 4) Once again, only the elephant and the palms are distinctive features for Ceylon; all the others – Britannia, her lion, packages, cornucopia and ships – were common elements on notes produced by this and other firms for banks in Britain and overseas. Indeed, this very vignette, without the elephant and palm, was also used in Canada on issues of the British Bank of North America. Such repetition of imagery is not unusual, for most printers had a range of 'off-the-peg' vignettes, borders and so on, which were cheaper than customised designs. Stock images were often used on sample notes sent out to advertise the printers' business, and in Britain, some banks specifically asked Perkins for these, or features they had seen on other notes. Evidently the designs submitted for Ceylon were acceptable, for the Perkins records show that they worked on the note production over the next few months – the die for the vignette, for example, was engraved on 14 December. In May 1850 they wrote to say that all the five pound and two pound notes, and twenty thousand of the one pound notes were ready, and asking how the notes were to be packed and how many they should send.<sup>11</sup>

The Government Treasury notes in Ceylon only continued for another few years, being withdrawn from circulation from 1 January 1856. But Ceylon was not left without paper money, as in 1844 a local Ordinance had permitted licensed banks to issue their own notes for

<sup>9</sup> Perkins Bacon to George Baillie, 10 and 26 November 1849, Draft Letter Book, February 1843 to March 1851, (RPS).

<sup>10</sup> My thanks to Osmund Boppearachchi for pointing out the errors, which gave much amusement to the Sinhalese audience at the conference in Colombo. Correspondence with banks in

India shows that the printers were wary of native scripts: they ask for them to be written out, preferably on an enlarged scale, refer to the extra time they will take, and imply that they impose constraints on the overall design of a note.

<sup>11</sup> Perkins Bacon to George Baillie, 13 May 1850, Draft Letter Book, February 1843 to March 1851, (RPS).

amounts of one pound or more. Over time this opportunity appears to have been taken up by several commercial banking companies: the Bank of Western India and the Bank of Ceylon, both of which became the Oriental Bank Corporation,<sup>12</sup> the Chartered Mercantile Bank of India, London and China; and later by the Asiatic Banking Corporation. Of these, the Oriental Bank Corporation had particularly significant long-term effects, not least because the governor of Ceylon decreed that its notes would be accepted for any payments due to the government, in place of the Treasury notes. This fateful decision was justified on the grounds that in the conditions of its charter, the bank had 'given what appears to Her Majesty's Government to be a sufficient security for their convertibility'.<sup>13</sup>

The Oriental Bank's predecessors in Ceylon were the Bank of Western India and the Bank of Ceylon. Little appears to be known about the note issues of the former, but unissued examples survive for the Bank of Ceylon. The bank was founded in 1840; a branch was opened in Colombo in June 1841, and another in Kandy in 1843. Its notes were produced by Perkins Bacon. Unfortunately the printers' draft letter books do not appear to contain any correspondence relating to the designs, but the engraving record books note that they were working on the first one pound and two pound notes from December 1840 to February 1841, and then on the five, ten, twenty and fifty pound notes from March to July of 1841.

All the denominations carried the same design, other than minor variations in lettering. It contained little of Perkins' characteristic machine-engraving but was emphatically British, with the Royal Arms in the top centre of the note, and a vignette of Britannia to the left. This familiar figure has her usual accessories of helmet, trident, shield with Union Jack, and lion. Almost predictably, an elephant and palm trees are in place behind her, but unexpectedly, a camel has also reappeared. (Pl. 17, 5) (Only the forepart of the camel is visible, tempting speculation that the engraver may have been unnecessarily concerned about putting the wrong number of humps!) Here again the elephant, palms and even the misplaced camel were surely intended as symbols of Ceylon, all positioned behind Britannia who has pride of place as a personification of the mother country. The dominant position of Britannia is a common feature on notes in British colonies, but a particular comparison in this instance may be made with a note design by Perkins for the Provincial Bank of Ireland in the 1820s, showing Britannia and Hibernia. (Pl. 17, 6) The seated figure of Britannia, carrying a trident and with helmeted head in profile, is very like that on the note for Ceylon, and although the two figures are seated side-by-side and holding hands, there is clearly a hierarchy, Hibernia sweetly bowing her head in deference to Britannia.

The business of the Bank of Ceylon was heavily tied up with coffee growing, a fatal flaw given that the bank over-extended its resources in making loans for mortgages on coffee plantations. Most accounts state that the Bank failed in the late 1840s and that its business was taken over by the Oriental Bank around 1849. However, its name seems to have been retained for a few years, because the Perkins Bacon records show that they were still drawing and engraving one pound notes for the Bank of Ceylon in September and October of 1850.<sup>14</sup> By autumn of 1851, these references have ceased, and the firm was working on Oriental Bank Corporation notes for issue at the Colombo and Kandy branches.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>12</sup> The Bank of Western India was founded in Bombay in 1842, but three years later the head office was moved to London and the name changed to the Oriental Bank. It later absorbed the business of the Bank of Ceylon and was granted a Royal Charter to trade as the Oriental Bank Corporation. (See Compton Mackenzie, *Realms of Silver. One hundred years of banking in the East* (London, 1954), p. 10.)

<sup>13</sup> Minute of Governor Sir Henry Wood, 28 December 1855, quoted in Fernando, as in n. 6, p. 26.

<sup>14</sup> Engraving Book 1847-52, entries for 4 September and 7 October 1850. (RPS).

<sup>15</sup> Engraving Book 1847-52, entries for 22 and 25 September, 10 and 30 October, and 3 November 1851. In October 1852 they were adding native characters to the five and ten rupee notes. The bank's other branches in Ceylon were at Galle, Badulla, Newara Elia, Haldamulle and Jaffna.

Based in London, the Oriental Bank was incorporated by Royal Charter as the Oriental Bank Corporation in August 1851, and permitted to trade in any British possession east of the Cape of Good Hope. With only a few exceptions, the notes issued in different places, from Ceylon to Shanghai or New Zealand, carried the same basic design, and yet again they firmly proclaimed their British origin. They were in typical Perkins style, with the Royal coat of arms and machine-engraved medallions, panels and borders. (Pl. 18, 7) From the 1850s to 1870s, notes for five and ten rupees<sup>16</sup> were decorated on the back with circular rosette patterns of engine-work (Pl. 18, 8); comparable rosettes can be found on British notes produced by Perkins, such as a twenty pound note for the Union Bank of Scotland in 1867. (Pl. 19, 9) The Perkins' design for the Oriental Bank's 100 rupee note had a slightly more elaborate design than the lower denominations, but as with the others, there was no pictorial element to identify the notes with Ceylon. The Royal Arms were the main graphic feature on the front, while on the back was a romantic scene of Neptune, god of the sea, in a chariot drawn by seahorses frolicking with cherubs. (Pl. 19, 10) An exact prototype for this vignette can be found on a trial note design Perkins submitted to the Bank of England c. 1819 to 1821 (Pl. 19, 11), and it recurred with slight variations on notes in several British colonies. This is a good example of a stock design turning up in distant and disparate lands, but it was appropriate symbolism for a commercial bank operating across an empire largely founded on and sustained by sea-borne trade. It is also a striking instance of western imagery and mythology being applied in a different culture.

That trend continued with later note issues of the Oriental Bank Corporation, which from about 1881 were printed by Bradbury Wilkinson and Company, another major British firm of security printers, founded in the mid nineteenth century. The new designs were quite different from the earlier issues, and particular to Ceylon. Although some of the Perkins' notes had been printed in ink of one colour (as opposed to black), the backs of these notes were printed in bands of soft colours which gradually merged into one another – a technique appropriately called 'rainbow' printing and strongly, though not exclusively, associated with Bradbury Wilkinson. The images on the front of the notes were a curious mixture: in the centre and to the right were the Royal Arms and a vignette of Mercury; the vignette to the left showed a female allegorical figure, but the pillars and lions flanking her throne are rendered in a less traditionally British idiom, while in the distance are palm trees, pagodas, and a catamaran. (Pl. 20, 12) Slightly more effort seems to have been made to represent Ceylon, at least as imagined by an engraver in London, though neither the architecture nor the lions bear much resemblance to Sinhalese design. As with the earlier issues produced by Perkins Bacon, the general appearance of these notes has the distinctive character of other work done by Bradbury. For example, Bradbury Wilkinson notes for the Bank of New Zealand in the early twentieth century make similar use of microscopic lettering for panels and borders, in this case framing scenes of Maoris and Kiwi birds. (Pl. 20, 13)

Most writers agree that the development of banking in Ceylon in the later nineteenth century was closely linked to coffee planting, which is also seen as a British innovation in Ceylon's economy.<sup>17</sup> The benefits brought by that industry are debatable: against the stimulus to trade must be set the difficult question of labour imported from India specifically for the plantations; and it has been argued that the plantations were an example of foreign economic control achieved at the expense of traditional agriculture.<sup>18</sup> In any event, the coffee industry was a short-lived wonder in Ceylon, collapsing in the 1880s as a result of persistent leaf

<sup>16</sup> By this time notes were denominated in rupees, acknowledging the fact that in practice Indian silver rupees were the most commonly used coins in Ceylon, although they were not officially declared to be legal tender until 1869.

<sup>17</sup> See for example S.A. Pakeman, *Ceylon* (London, 1964), chapter 6, on the economy under British rule.

<sup>18</sup> C.R. de Silva, *Sri Lanka. A History* (New Delhi, 1987), p. 167.

disease. One of the casualties was the Oriental Bank Corporation, which went out of business in 1884 – partly because of management difficulties in its international network, but also because, like its predecessor the Bank of Ceylon, it could not recover the costs of heavy lending to coffee planters.

The bank failed on 3 May 1884 with a note issue of over three million rupees, causing, it is claimed, immediate and severe panic among all classes of the community. The British governor, Sir Arthur Gordon, attempted to calm the situation by promising that the Colonial Exchequer would honour any Oriental Bank notes still in circulation, and he wrote to the Secretary of State in Britain urging that, to avoid a repeat of such disaster, the notes should be replaced by a government issue of paper currency. Questioning the rather *laissez-faire* approach of earlier colonial regulations, he warned that

What has happened in the case of this bank, may, and probably will, happen again in the case of any bank that may take its place with the privilege of a note issue. We shall again see the paper currency of the country depreciate in a day 50 per cent. within a stone's throw of the bank itself, and rendered wholly valueless in more distant places; we shall again see a universal dislocation of all business and a total collapse of credit, including that of the Government itself, threatened.<sup>19</sup>

However, earlier policies reflected the Treasury's preference for the least possible intervention and expense in such matters. Now the Secretary of State was less than wholly enthusiastic about this unilateral decision to transfer responsibility to the British Government, and suggested other solutions the governor might have tried, such as persuading merchants and leading citizens of Colombo to back the notes. At the Treasury, there was even some grumbling about reversing established policy on the recommendation of a Governor who, it was suggested, may have over-reacted to the situation because he was not sufficiently experienced in economic matters. In response Gordon firmly defended his position, retorting that if anything he had understated the calamity, 'having failed to describe with sufficient strength and vividness the actual state of affairs'. He pointedly went on: 'I have not much leisure for careful writing, and it is quite possible that I have been far too influenced by my reluctance to paint highly coloured and sensational pictures.'<sup>20</sup> Gordon was backed by the legislative council in Ceylon, who recalled that the British Government had in effect given its backing to the Oriental Bank's notes in 1855 when it had withdrawn its own Treasury issues, and had agreed to accept notes issued by the Oriental Bank Corporation in payment of taxes. In the face of these arguments, and accepting that the crisis in Ceylon was exceptional and serious, the government followed Gordon's advice.

Ordinance No. 32 of 1884, the 'Paper Currency Ordinance', established a Board of Currency Commissioners for Ceylon, initially consisting of the Colonial Secretary, the Treasurer and the Auditor-General. The Board was empowered to issue notes payable on demand at the Treasury for Indian silver rupees or gold coin which was legal tender in Ceylon,<sup>21</sup> and the notes were to be backed by a reserve of silver and gold coin of at least half the value in circulation. For a limited period, currency notes would be given in exchange for Oriental Bank notes in circulation at the time of its failure.<sup>22</sup> Notes for five, ten, fifty and 100 rupees were introduced in 1885; a 1000 rupee note was issued in 1899. The notes were printed in England by Thomas De La Rue and their appearance contrasted strongly with the ornate Bradbury designs for the Oriental Bank Corporation: they were extremely simple, printed only on the front in black and

<sup>19</sup> Quoted in Fernando, as in n. 4, p. 27.

<sup>20</sup> As in n. 4, pp. 28–29.

<sup>21</sup> Fernando, as in n. 4, pp. 56–60, reproduces the Ordinance with later amendments. British and Australian gold coins had been declared legal tender in Ceylon in 1852 and 1856 respectively.

<sup>22</sup> When the Oriental Bank failed, the Chartered Mercantile Bank of India, London and China was still issuing notes in Ceylon, but this right was to be withdrawn when the bank's charter was renewed in 1888.

green with lettering and some machine-work, but no pictorial element. (Pl. 21, 14) Other than the place names and the inclusion of Sinhalese and Tamil texts, there was no attempt to give any visual indication of the country of issue, a point made even more evident by comparison with government issues in other British dominions, such as those of India or East Africa, which were produced by the same printer and had a very similar format. (Pl. 21, 15)

Facing the common necessity of producing low denomination notes to replace scarce coin in wartime, the Commissioners issued notes for one and two rupees in 1917. Both had more complex designs and colours than the higher denominations, and the one rupee note was also printed on the back. It remained unchanged, other than slight changes in the colour tones, for over twenty years, but in 1918 the two rupee note was issued in a black and green design conforming to the other notes.

Perhaps inevitably, given the simple designs, there were problems with forgery, despite penalties of up to twenty years' imprisonment for forging notes, and up to five years simply for possessing a forged note. In 1926–7 rainbow tints of colour were added to the background of the two, five and ten rupee notes. By then they were also printed on the back, with the image of an elephant between two palms (now centre-stage and without Britannia) framed by an elaborate ornamental panel (Pl. 22, 16), but these changes were apparently not enough. We have evidence of the problems and questions which concerned the government of Ceylon in correspondence spanning the 1930s between the Crown Agents and Dr A.J. Bull of the London County Council School of Photo Engraving and Lithography, who acted as an external consultant and adviser on printing.<sup>23</sup> Signs of trouble appear in a report made in 1928 by W.W. Woods, the Colonial Treasurer, and sent to Bull in 1933. Woods was keen on cutting costs: he suggested reducing the size of notes for five rupees or more, to save money on paper and freight and because, he claimed, they would fit better into pocket books and so would be more popular with the public. In fact smaller-size notes were issued from 1929. But Woods' main concern was with forgery, to the extent that having been 'feeling apprehensive about the security against fraudulent reproduction of our notes', he spent some of his leave in 1927 visiting De La Rue, Bradbury Wilkinson and Waterlow, three of the main security printers in England. After much consideration, he proposed adding rainbow tints and printing on the back of notes which did not already have these features, in order to stop the success of hand-drawn forgeries which had been fooling the public. But Woods' whole attitude to preventing forgery was rather contradictory, for while he appears to have been very interested in comparing different technical possibilities, he did not consider that either the public or the forgers merited too much effort. He stated that there was no point in using high-quality expensive intaglio plate-printing, because they were not dealing with high-class counterfeiters, but with

The local forger, and he can generally succeed, so far as his immediate victims are concerned, if he can obtain an appropriate resemblance to a genuine note. The ordinary member of the public in Ceylon has shown himself quite unable to appreciate even obvious defects in forged notes. . . .<sup>24</sup>

A handwritten comment in the margin of his copy of the report suggests that Bull took a more positive view on this matter: 'Can they be educated a little?' At the same time, however, he did not think much of the notes, referring back to his comments in an earlier letter: 'Upon the whole I have not formed a very high opinion of this set of notes. Their security value is low . . . There are moreover no distinctive outstanding features that can easily be remembered.'<sup>25</sup> Bull

<sup>23</sup> Copies of this correspondence are contained in the Cartwright Papers in the collection of the Chartered Institute of Bankers, which is placed on loan with the Department of Coins and Medals in the British Museum.

<sup>24</sup> Report by W.W. Woods, 16 November 1928, Cartwright Papers.

<sup>25</sup> Bull to the Crown Agents, 1 August 1910, Cartwright Papers.



was also unimpressed by Woods' suggestion of rainbow tints, which he believed could be copied, as could designs on the back of notes. Instead he recommended greater use of geometric patterns of white and black line work,<sup>26</sup> a well-engraved portrait, and above all, a good watermark (the only aspect of the existing design which really pleased him), which should be fully visible in a panel free from any printing. This last point became a source of continuing argument, as the Ceylon government did not want a plain white panel in their notes; but Bull insisted that any form of printing would obscure the watermark, and he suggested compromising with off-white paper.

Despite all this discussion, nothing happened for some time – perhaps because the government was more interested in economising than in innovation. But in 1937 the subject came up again because Ceylon's notes were to be made legal tender; that is, there was no longer any obligation on the government to exchange the notes for coin. The wording on the notes had to be changed, and this presented an opportunity to make more radical alterations to the design. For the next three years, letters sped back and forth between the Crown Agents and Bull, the government apparently looking for the cheapest possible option. They kept sending Bull sketches from various printers, including the Indian Security Press; Bull kept replying that the best designs were those offered by Thomas De La Rue. At one stage the government peevishly asked Bull to confine his considerations to security value rather than artistic appeal: he snapped back 'Questions of art I agree have rarely much to do with note design, but the questions of appearance and security are inseparable . . .'<sup>27</sup>

Gradually, however, a rather grudging consensus emerged. The notes should have a portrait of the British monarch, George VI, the Ceylon lion for the watermark,<sup>28</sup> geometric line-work for added security, and a picture on the back – although there was some trouble over that. The representative of the Ceylon government wrote 'I find that many countries incorporate pictorial matter in their notes: His Excellency the Governor has expressed himself definitely in favour of such a feature in Ceylon notes.' Dr Bull replied that this was 'almost invariably the easiest part of the note to imitate . . . Should it become necessary to include pictorial matter, then I hope it may be relegated to the back of the note.'<sup>29</sup> Evidently his view prevailed.

The results of these deliberations and altercations emerged in a new issue of government notes introduced in 1941, the last series of paper money in the colonial history of Ceylon. The notes were printed in colour by Thomas De La Rue. All carried a portrait of George VI on the front, with dense patterns of machine-engraving and white-line work, and a stylised Sinhalese lion as the watermark, fully visible in a circle devoid of printing. On the 100 rupees note, there was also elegant pairs of palms framing the portrait and the watermark – an echo of the palms which had appeared so often in the vignettes on nineteenth-century issues. (Pl. 22, 17) The backs of the notes were indeed filled with pictorial images, each denomination illustrating a different indigenous scene or landmark. An elephant appeared on the one rupee note, the lion rock of Sigirya on the two rupees, Thuparama Dagoba (the country's oldest stupa) on five rupees, the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy on ten rupees (Pl. 22, 18), a paddy field on fifty rupees, Laksapana Waterfall on 100 rupees, and a fishing boat off a palm-fringed coast on the 1000 rupee note.

Of course the portrait of a British king was a clear reference to continuing British authority; nevertheless, there is a shift of emphasis in these designs, with a more realistic representation

<sup>26</sup> That is, machine-engraved patterns of fine white lines on a dark background, or black lines on a pale background.

<sup>27</sup> Comments by the government of Ceylon passed on in a letter from the Crown Agents to Bull, 10 Jun 1939; Bull to the Crown Agents, 29 June 1939, Cartwright Papers.

<sup>28</sup> Experts in the natural history of Ceylon may observe that the lion is no more native to the island than the camel; however, unlike the lifelike camels which appeared in the

earlier vignettes, a mythical lion is at the very source of Sinhalese culture. According to the *Mahavamsa*, the legend of the founding of Sri Lanka, the Sinhalese people are descended from a North Indian prince who was the grandson of a lion (*Sinha*). The lion is therefore a symbol of power and national identity.

<sup>29</sup> Crown Agents' letter to Bull, 10 June 1939; Bull to the Crown Agents, 29 June 1939.

of Ceylon compared with earlier note issues. The camels have disappeared; Britannia has gone, taking with her the British lion, whose place is taken by the lion of Ceylon; and the symbolic elephants and palms are transformed into naturalistic views of the country. These changes are typical of general trends in note design at this time, which can be explained partly by the wish for more elaborate printing to deter forgery, but their significance surely reaches beyond merely practical considerations. A.J. Bull dismissed pictures as easy to copy, yet note designs are concerned not only with security, but also with establishing an identity. From the earliest coins to our own currency today, images on money have been used to define and declare the geographical and cultural identity of the issuer and the place of circulation. Viewed in this light, the last British paper money in Ceylon signalled the forthcoming change in the country's status from colony to independent state, and the national note issues of the Central Bank of Ceylon.

### KEY TO PLATES 15–22

1. Vignette by Silvester from a Ceylon Treasury £5 note design, *c.* 1827.
2. Vignette by Silvester from an unissued £1 note of the General Bank, Plymouth, *c.* 1820s.
3. Ceylon Treasury £2 note by Perkins Bacon and Co., *c.* 1850.
4. Detail of vignette from Ceylon Treasury notes, *c.* 1850.
5. Detail of vignette from Bank of Ceylon £2 note, 1840s.
6. Britannia and Hibernia in a vignette from a note design by Perkins for the Provincial Bank of Ireland, 1825.
7. Oriental Bank Corporation, 10 rupees, 1862, by Perkins Bacon (front).
8. Oriental Bank Corporation, 10 rupees, 1862 (back).
9. Union Bank of Scotland, £20 note by Perkins Bacon, 1867.
10. Neptune and seahorses on the back of a 100 rupee note of the Oriental Bank Corporation, 1876.
11. Detail of Neptune from trial design submitted by Perkins to the Bank of England, *c.* 1819–1821.
12. Oriental Bank Corporation, 10 rupees, 1881, by Bradbury Wilkinson.
13. Bank of New Zealand, £1 note *c.* 1903–18, by Bradbury Wilkinson.
14. Government of Ceylon, 10 rupees, 1919, by Thomas De La Rue.
15. Government of India, 10 rupees, 1919, by Thomas De La Rue.
16. Elephant and palm trees from the back of a Government of Ceylon 10 rupee note, 1925.
17. Government of Ceylon, 100 rupees, 1945 (front).
18. Temple of the Tooth, Kandy, from the back of a Government of Ceylon 10 rupee note, 1944.

No. 1 is reproduced by kind permission of William Barrett. The notes in nos. 3–8, 10 and 12 are from the collection of the Chartered Institute of Bankers, placed on loan with the British Museum. The remaining notes are all in the British Museum collection of paper money.



Silvester & Co. sc. 27. Strand.

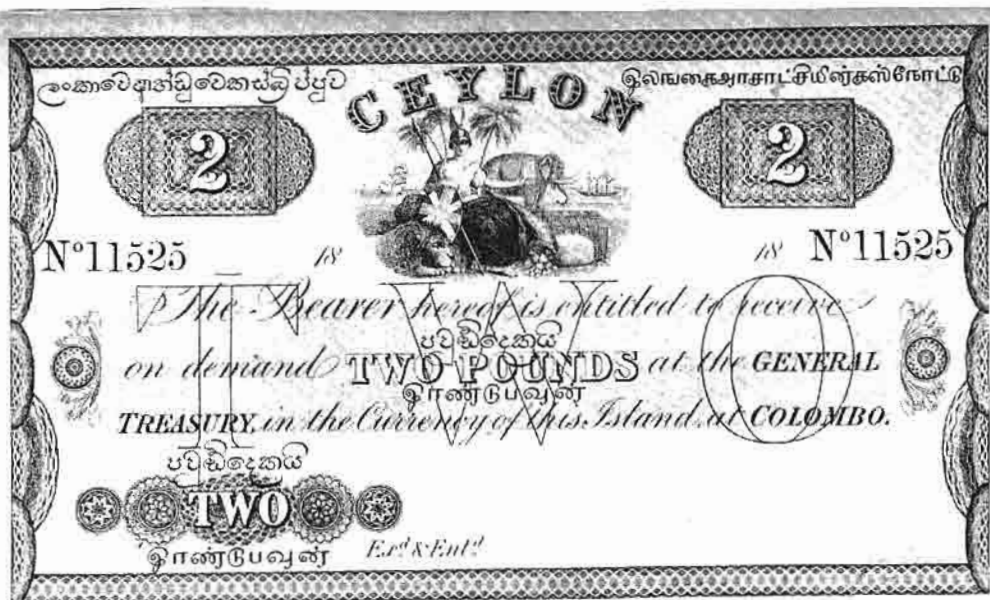
1



Silvester sc. 27. Strand.

2

HEWITT: BRITISH NOTE ISSUES FOR CEYLON (1)  
(NOT ACTUAL SIZE)



3



4

HEWITT: BRITISH NOTE ISSUES FOR CEYLON (2)  
(NOT ACTUAL SIZE)



5



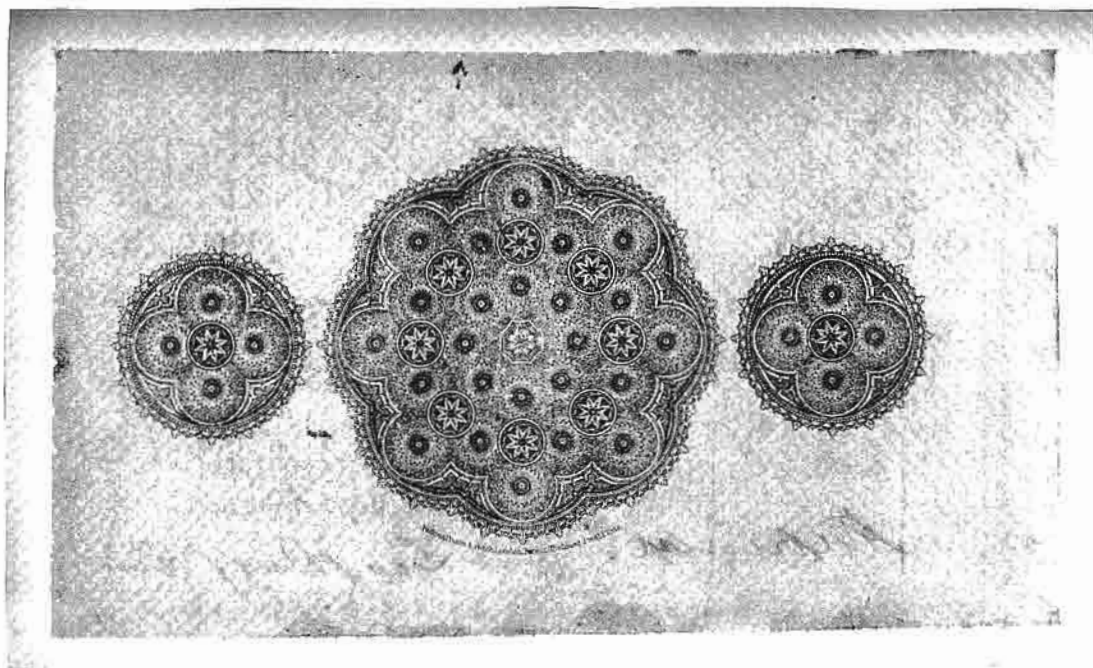
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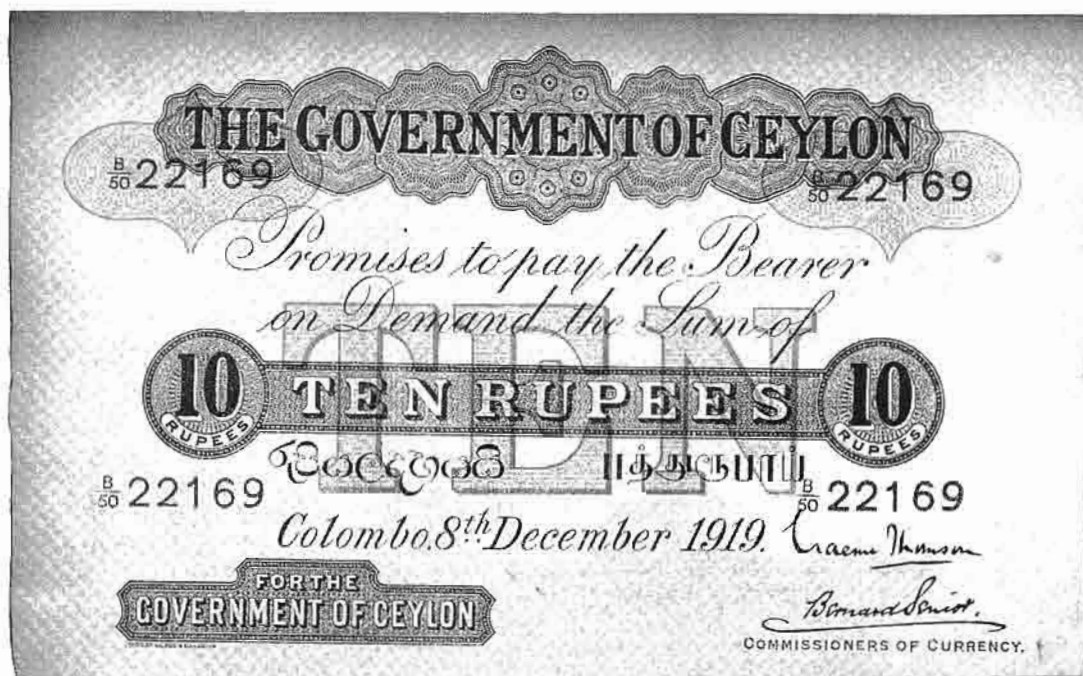
HEWITT: BRITISH NOTE ISSUES FOR CEYLON (5)  
(NOT ACTUAL SIZE)



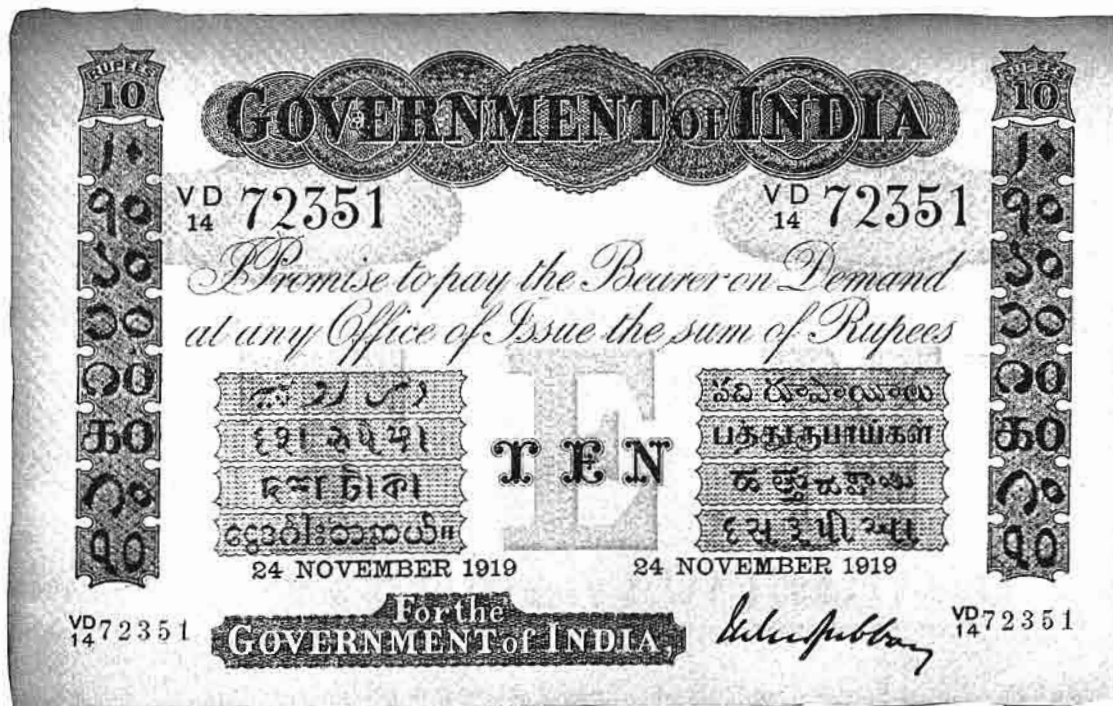
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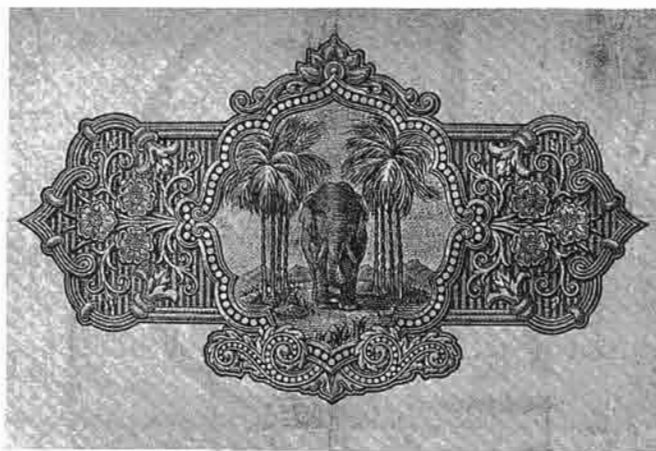


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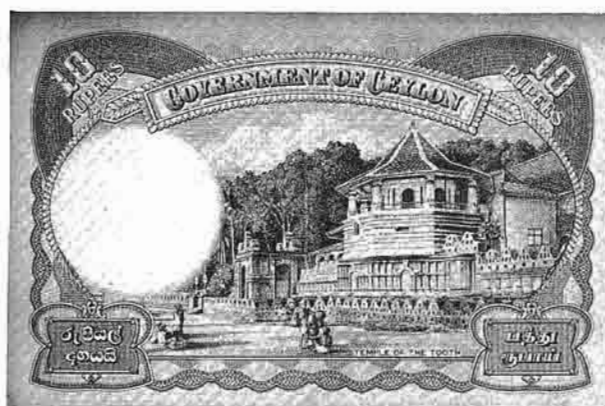




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17



18

HEWITT: BRITISH NOTE ISSUES FOR CEYLON (8)  
(NOT ACTUAL SIZE)



## SHORT ARTICLES AND NOTES

### IRON AGE COINS FROM BARHAM, SUFFOLK

PHILIP DE JERSEY AND JOHN NEWMAN

BETWEEN 1990 and 1996 seven silver units of the 'Bury' type, and a gold quarter stater, were found in a field in the parish of Barham, near Ipswich in Suffolk. The coins, which were found by two metal-detectorists operating with the landowner's permission, have been reported to the local coroner, but owing to the dispersed nature of the find a decision over their Treasure Trove status has been delayed pending further searches of the area.<sup>1</sup>

The coins are listed in the table below and illustrated

on Pl. 23. They were scattered over an area of nearly four hectares, with nos. 3, 5, 6 and 8 being found within an area of one hectare, and nos. 1, 4 and 7 in a similar sized area approximately 100 m downslope to the south-west. The final coin, no. 2, came from a point 90 m north-west of the first group. While it is possible that the coins come from a single deposit, their dispersed nature points to extensive agricultural disturbance and no clear point of origin, or a container, has yet been identified.

TABLE 1: Iron Age coins from Barham, Suffolk

no.	wt.	type	discovery	CCI no.	comments
1	-	Bury A	1990	95.0024	different dies from 2
2	-	Bury A	1996	96.3627	different dies from 1
3	-	Bury C	1990	95.0025	R/ die as 4, 6 & 7, mis-struck
4	1.18g	Bury C	1991	95.0015	O/ die as 7; R/ die as 3, 6 & 7
5	-	Bury C	1995	95.2597	different R/ style
6	1.39g	Bury C	1995	95.2598	R/ die as 3, 4 & 7, mis-struck
7	-	Bury C	1996	96.2600	O/ die as 4; R/ die as 3, 4 & 6
8	-	British LX4	1996	96.2590	-

The field where the coins were found lies on a gentle south-west facing slope between two small dry valleys, about 600 m from the river Gipping. This natural corridor formed a significant route from the coastal area of south-east Suffolk to the densely settled region around Bury St Edmunds to the north-west. The Gipping meets the tidal Orwell estuary at Ipswich 7.5 km downstream, and the Roman small town of Combretoivium (Coddensham) is 2.5 km upstream, where the Pye Road<sup>2</sup> crosses the valley before heading north to Caistor by Norwich. Although Barham lies well to the south of the area generally defined as Icenian territory, it is on a major route that would have given access to the Breckland core of the Icenian kingdom in north-west Suffolk and Norfolk.

The possible presence of this Iron Age hoard was obscured in the first few years of searching by an extensive scatter of late medieval and post-medieval coins and artefacts. While some Roman material has also been found in the area of the coins, only one Iron Age artefact – a copper alloy strap fitting – has been identified. Small-scale excavation<sup>3</sup> has however identified two Iron Age settlements on the ridge some 500 m above the area of the coins, and the Gipping valley in general is well-known for later prehistoric activity. In addition, extensive searching by metal-detector users has recovered a number of stray finds of Iron Age coins on the ridge overlooking the 'hoard', from an area that went on to hold a substantial Roman settlement.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> We are grateful to the metal-detector users for diligently recording and reporting their finds. All of the finds are in private collections.

<sup>2</sup> I. D. Margary, *Roman Roads in Britain* (3rd edition, London, 1973), pp. 264, 267–268, road 3c/d.

<sup>3</sup> E. Martin, 'Two first millennium BC settlement sites at Barham', in E. Martin, *Settlements on Hill-Tops: seven prehistoric*

*sites in Suffolk* (*East Anglia Archaeology* 65 (1993)), pp. 23–40.

<sup>4</sup> Other coins from Barham recorded in the Celtic Coin Index include a stater of Addedomaros (VA 1635), an uninscribed quarter stater possibly of Addedomaros (VA 1623), an uninscribed quarter stater of the Iceni (VA 628) and a silver pattern/horse ECEN unit (VA 730) of the same tribe, a silver unit of Cunobelin (VA 2047) and an uncertain north Thames bronze issue.

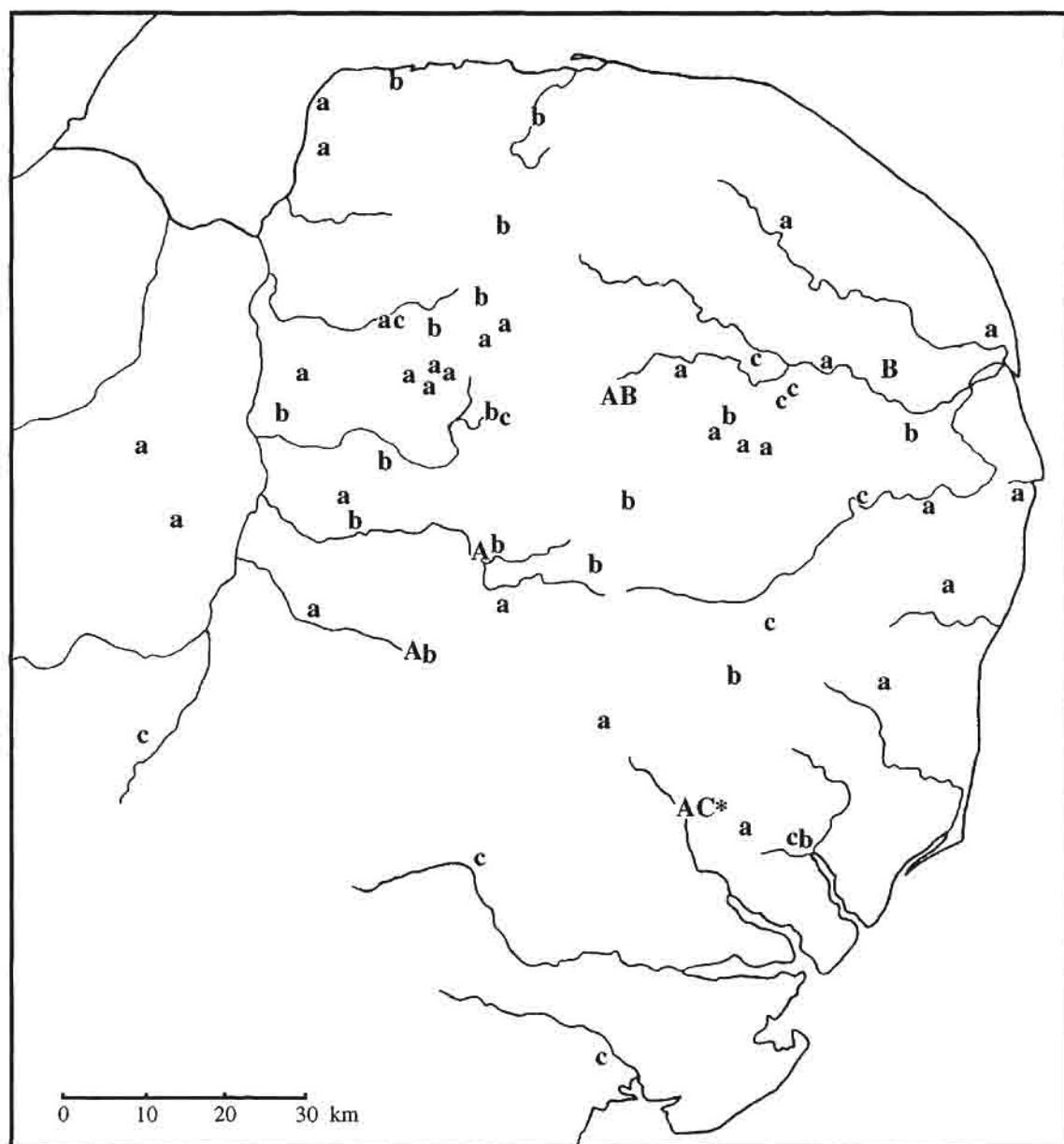


Fig. 1. Distribution of Bury types

Lower case letters indicate one coin; upper case two or more. The site at Barham is indicated by an asterisk.

Seven of the eight coins belong to the series popularly known as Bury types. These coins were first clearly defined by Gregory,<sup>5</sup> who described three types (A, B and C), all featuring a finely-detailed head and horse, with much emphasis on the headgear shown on

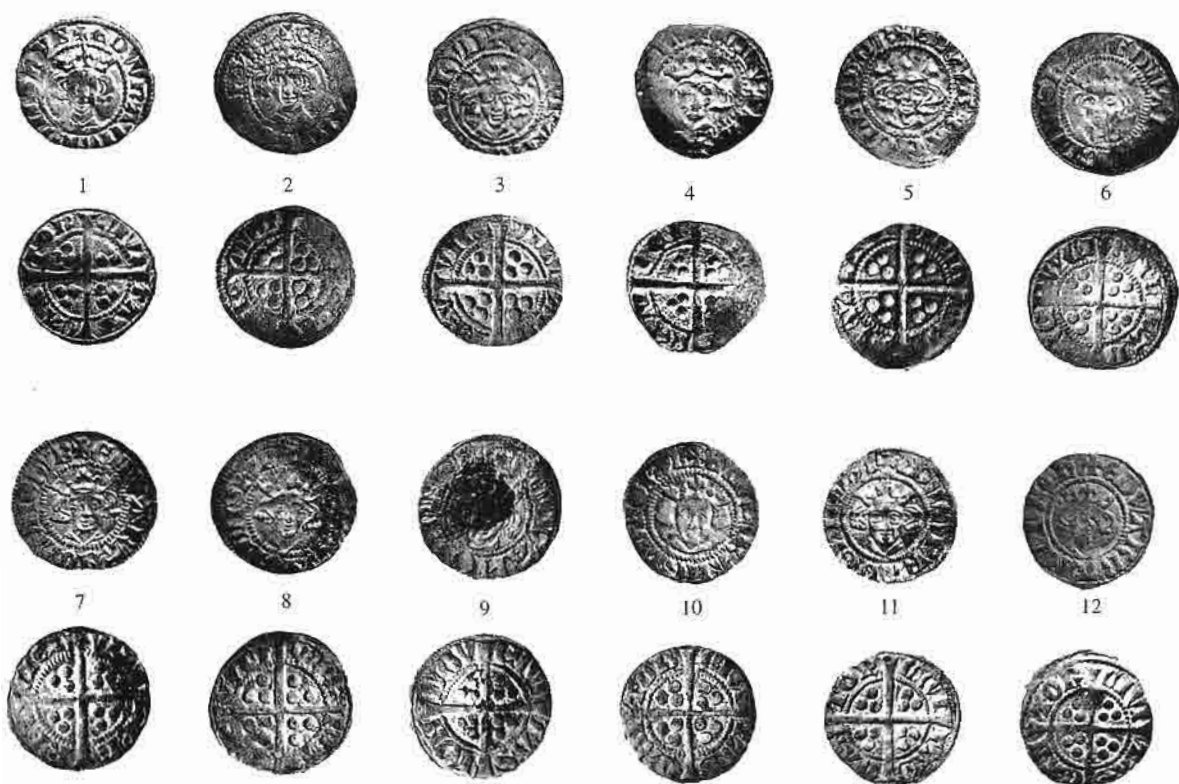
the obverse. At the most basic level, the three types can be differentiated according to the combination of head and horse: head left and horse left for A, head right and horse right for B, and head right and horse left for C. The A type had previously been recorded by Allen

<sup>5</sup> T. Gregory, 'Snettisham and Bury: some new light on the earliest Iceni coinage', in *Celtic coinage: Britain and*

*beyond*, edited by M. Mays (Oxford, 1992), pp. 47–68.



DE JERSEY AND NEWMAN: IRON AGE COINS FROM BARHAM, SUFFOLK



COUPAR: BLACKHILLS HOARD



HARRIS AND SHARP: RASHLEIGH HALF GROAT

(LX10), Mack (438) and Van Arsdell (80-1), and the B type in a short note by Mossop;<sup>6</sup> the C type was apparently unpublished until Gregory's contribution. The types await a detailed study, but it is plain that there is considerable variation in the decoration around the dominant features of head and horse (Pl. 23). Among this group, no. 5 has an unusual reverse, with a wreath replacing the usual line of pellets alongside the horse's tail. These coins are undoubtedly early – relatively heavy, stylistically adventurous, uninscribed and most importantly absent from the large number of hoards of Icenian silver recorded from the conquest period.

Since Gregory wrote,<sup>7</sup> the number of Bury type coins recorded in the Celtic Coin Index has more than doubled, to a total of 136: 65 A types, 47 B types and 24 C types. It is interesting to note, however, that the relative proportions of each type are virtually unchanged. The increase in the number of provenances allows some reassessment of Gregory's initial thoughts on the distribution of these types. Type A can now be seen (Fig. 1) to be spread widely across the Icenian territory, rather than concentrated in the south; type B, though less common, is equally widely scattered. There is perhaps some suggestion that type C is more often found in the

eastern half of the territory, but as the least common type this may be misleading. As a general observation, there is clearly no reason to question Gregory's assertion that the Bury types are Icenian in origin.

The eighth coin found at Barham and possibly associated with the Bury types is an uninscribed quarter stater, of Allen's LX4 type (Mack 76a, VA 260–18). Although classified as Atrebat by Van Arsdell, the majority of provenanced examples are from the north of the Thames, and it seems most likely to have originated in the Trinovantian territory;<sup>9</sup> it provides yet another example of a nominally 'Atrebat' style coinage with rather more complicated origins than had previously been accepted.<sup>10</sup> This particular type seems to have been a short-lived issue, struck with very few dies, most of which bear readily identifiable flaws; it presumably dates to approximately the third quarter of the first century BC.

It remains to be seen whether further information will come to light in Barham to establish whether or not these coins are part of a scattered hoard. At present we can do little more than record their discovery, and suggest that they may have formed all or part of a deposit probably made in the later years of the first century BC.

## AN OVERSTRUCK SILVER UNIT OF VERICA

G.L. COTTAM

ONE of the means whereby the sequence in which different coin types were minted can be confirmed is through the study of overstrikes. By identifying the underlying design (or designs) on a restruck coin the relative sequence in which the types were struck can be determined, although this does not necessarily prove that the uppermost design on the coin was current after a lower one, merely that at worst it was current at the same time, since both types clearly would have had a finite currency. Nevertheless, overstrikes allow sequences which have been determined via other means

to be confirmed, and incorrect sequences that have been proposed to be refuted with confidence.

Although in most coin series overstrikes of coins may not commonly be found, they often exist, have generally been published,<sup>1</sup> and provide valuable assistance in confirming the sequence in which the coins were produced.<sup>2</sup> However, overstrikes are practically unknown in the British Celtic series. In fact, apart from a small number of uninscribed silver units from the central southern part of Britain<sup>3</sup> they have not otherwise been recorded and this, together with the

<sup>6</sup> H. R. Mossop, 'A horse from the same stable as Mack 438', *SCMB*, 1979 (no. 730), 181.

<sup>7</sup> Figures from A. Chadburn, postscript to Gregory's paper in n. 5, p. 69.

<sup>8</sup> Van Arsdell lists this type as silver; this is an error copied from Mack (*The coinage of ancient Britain*, (3rd edition, London, 1975), p. 46), in turn copied from the Fitzwilliam Sylloge (P. Grierson, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles I*, Fitzwilliam Museum (Oxford, 1958), p. IV.97).

<sup>9</sup> Provenances in addition to Barham are Clacton, Colchester, White Roding (2), Chelmsford and Epping in Essex; Long Melford (Suffolk); Essendon (Hertfordshire); Caistor (Lincolnshire); Folkestone (Kent); and, less reliably, Alton (Hampshire).

<sup>10</sup> See for example, P. de Jersey, 'Gaulish or British? A quarter stater from both sides of the Channel', *Celtic Coin Bulletin* 2 (forthcoming); or some varieties of the so-called Snettisham quarter staters (*BMC* 3420ff.).

<sup>1</sup> See, for example, a number of recorded Anglo-Saxon overstrikes (eg F. Banks & F. Purvey, 'Two overstruck Pennies of Archbishop Plegmund', *BNJ* (1967), 189 + Plate XV.4, and P.A. Hodgkinson, 'An Overstruck Penny of Edward the Confessor', *BNJ* (1969), 185 + Plate IX.4.).

<sup>2</sup> D. Nash, *Coinage in the Celtic World* (London, 1987), p. 79.

<sup>3</sup> S.C. Bean, *The Coinage of the Atrebates and Regni*, PhD thesis, University of Nottingham (1994), p. 130.



Fig. 1. Overstruck silver unit.

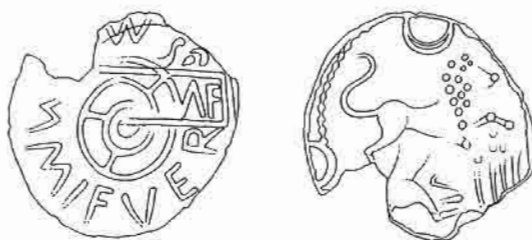


Fig. 2. Overstruck silver unit.

almost complete absence of die linking between successive issues,<sup>4</sup> has meant that the study of the British Celtic coinage has lacked some of the more incontrovertible evidence which in other series has helped confirm the sequence of different types.

It was, therefore, of great interest when an overstruck inscribed silver unit of Verica recently came to light. Figure 1 shows  $\times 2$  photographs of both the obverse and reverse of the coin, while drawings which clarify the images are illustrated at the same scale in Fig. 2. The undertype is VA 471-1<sup>5</sup> and  $\times 2$  photographs of a coin of this type are shown in Fig. 3,<sup>6</sup> although, unfortunately, due to the distortion of the surface that took place when the coin was restruck (particularly since, in the process, the coin underwent a rotational double strike), it has not proved possible to identify the particular dies used. The coin was then restruck with dies bearing a variant form of VA 505-1. This has a linear cross superimposed on the central shield shaped object normally seen on the obverse of this type. In this case the dies used to restruck the coin can be identified, the obverse being one of only two known dies of this variant type. Figure 4 shows  $\times 2$  photographs of a coin struck from one of these dies.

No examples of VA 471-1 had been catalogued prior to the appearance of coins from Wanborough,<sup>7</sup> although Evans<sup>8</sup> and Mack<sup>9</sup> both catalogued VA 505-1 (as Evans III 3 and Mack 123 respectively). Whereas Evans did not attempt to organise Verica's coinage into different issues, Mack, recognising three different types of staters, arranged the coins into three series, placing VA

505-1 in his second series (which will be seen to correspond to the place the coin is given in Van Arsdell's arrangement below).

Van Arsdell would appear to have based his organisation of Verica's coinage on the study of the gold coins begun by Allen and completed by Haselgrove.<sup>10</sup> He arranged the silver coins, according to their legends, to fit the three stater groups that were defined in this study,<sup>11</sup> cataloguing his type 471-1 as part of a first coinage of Verica, and type 505-1 with a second coinage.<sup>12</sup> Although a number of questions arise from the selection of coins that Van Arsdell assigns to each of these coinages (such as the inclusion of coins that were clearly not struck under Verica, eg. VA 473-1, VA 474-1, VA 482-1, VA 483-1), the striking sequence exhibited by the newly discovered coin does not contradict the sequence Van Arsdell proposes for these two types with VA 505-1 following VA 471-1.

Bean, in a major revision to previously proposed structures for Verica's coinage, sees two mints issuing coinage during Verica's reign with VA 471-1 and VA 505-1 both being the product of a mint at Cavella.<sup>13</sup> In his arrangement VA 471-1 precedes VA 505-1, a sequence which is confirmed by the order in which the different types were struck on the new coin.

It is thus clear that, notwithstanding any interest that might be created by the appearance of what is probably the first recorded example of an overstruck inscribed British Celtic coin, the discovery of this silver unit presents us with no new insight into the arrangement of Verica's coinage. However, it does

<sup>4</sup> C. Cheesman, 'The Coins' in M.G. O'Connell and J. Bird, 'The Roman temple at Wanborough, excavation 1985-1986', *Surrey Archaeological Collections* 85 (1994), 76 N<sup>OS</sup>. 364-382, and 64 plate 7.

<sup>5</sup> Catalogue numbers from R.D. Van Arsdell, *Celtic Coinage in Britain* (London 1989) are prefaced by the abbreviation VA.

<sup>6</sup> Photograph courtesy of the Oxford Institute of Archaeology's Celtic Coin Index.

<sup>7</sup> See, however, G.C. Boon, 'A Dobunnian Note', *SCMB* 778 (June 1983), 145.

<sup>8</sup> J. Evans, *The Coins of the Ancient Britons* (London 1864).

<sup>9</sup> R.P. Mack, *The Coinage of Ancient Britain* (London 1953).

<sup>10</sup> D.F. Allen and C.C. Haselgrove, 'The gold coinage of Verica', *Britannia* X (1979), 1-17.

<sup>11</sup> See note 4, R.D. Van Arsdell, *Celtic Coinage of Britain*, p. 153.

<sup>12</sup> See note 4, R.D. Van Arsdell, *Celtic Coinage of Britain*, pp. 153-166.

<sup>13</sup> See note 3, S.C. Bean, *The Coinage of the Atrebatians and Regni*, pp. 360-376.





Fig. 3. Coin of type VA 471-I, similar to that forming the undertype of the overstruck unit.



Fig. 4. Coin of type VA 505-I variant, showing the designs present on the overstruck unit.

confirm a sequence that the different studies of Verica's coinage have proposed for two of his silver types and the very existence of this overstruck coin raises the possibility that further restrikes of inscribed Celtic coins might exist, possibly unrecognised as such among coins already residing in some collection. More importantly, although the existence of overstruck uninscribed Celtic coins of this series can

be explained on socio-political grounds,<sup>14</sup> the restriking of an inscribed coin under the same issuing authority as the one responsible for its original production hints at a sophistication in the management of coinage in the late pre-Roman Iron Age that has hitherto been unsuspected and provides one more step in extending our understanding of the first indigenous coinage of Britain.

## A SECOND COIN OF KING EARDWULF OF NORTHUMBRIA AND THE ATTRIBUTION OF THE MONEYSER COINS OF KING ÆLFWALD

MARK BLACKBURN AND ANDY GILLIS

IN August 1994 the first coin of Eardwulf, king of Northumbria (796–806?, 808?–810?) was discovered at Burton Fleming, North Humberside and promptly published by Elizabeth Price.<sup>1</sup> Only three years later, in September 1997, a second specimen came to light with a metal-detector on a productive site near Driffield in South Yorkshire, which has yielded many coins of the eighth and ninth centuries. The coin was found by James Hewitt, who showed it to one of us (AG) and has kindly allowed it to be recorded here. The new coin is subtly different from the first and as a result it sheds considerable new light, not only on Eardwulf's coinage but on that in the name of Ælfwald as well. The coin,

which is illustrated on **Pl. 24, 3**, from a video image, may be described as follows:

*Obv.* +EA·RDVVL·FR, pellet in beaded inner circle

*Rev.* CVDhEVRT, small cross

Weight reported as: 1.00g (15.4gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Diameter: 13.5mm.

Both Eardwulf coins were struck by the same moneyer, Cuthheard, who is also known from coins of Æthelred I's second reign (790–6), Eanred (810?–840/1), and a King Ælfwald who could be Ælfwald I (778/9–788) or Ælfwald II (806?–808?).<sup>2</sup>

<sup>14</sup> Such as the restriking of coinage issued under the authority of (and possibly received from) one chieftain by the types of another chieftain prior to the distribution of largesse by him in order to ensure that the recipient has visible evidence of the direct source of that largesse.

*Acknowledgements.* We are grateful to the finder James Hewitt for drawing the coin to our attention and allowing us to publish it here. Stewart Lyon, Hugh Pagan, and Elizabeth Pirie have read this note in draft and offered helpful comments. Photographs have kindly been supplied by the

British Museum, through Dr Gareth Williams, and Mr Lyon.

<sup>1</sup> E.J.E. Pirie, 'Eardulf: a significant addition to the coinage of Northumbria', *BNJ* 65 (1995), 20–31.

<sup>2</sup> For a survey of the historical background and uncertainty over the dating and duration of Ælfwald II's reign and the second reign of Eardwulf, see J. Booth, 'Coinage and Northumbrian history; c. 790–c. 810', *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*, edited by D.M. Metcalf (BAR British Series 180; Oxford, 1987), pp. 57–89, at pp. 59–65; Pirie, 'Eardulf', pp. 22–4.

The attribution of this latter group has been much debated over the last forty years. Ælfwald's coins fall into two categories, one showing on the reverse a prancing animal and no inscription which certainly belongs to Ælfwald I's reign, and the other with the name of the moneyer Cuthheard around a small cross. In recent years the number of specimens of the moneyer group has grown from two to at least seven today<sup>3</sup> and it is the attribution of these that has been problematic. While all commentators admit that the arguments are finely balanced, Ælfwald I was favoured by Lyon (1956),<sup>4</sup> Booth (1984, 1987),<sup>5</sup> and Metcalf (1994),<sup>6</sup> but Ælfwald II was preferred by Pagan (1969),<sup>7</sup> Pirie (1987, 1995, 1996),<sup>8</sup> and Booth (1997).<sup>9</sup> The new coin published here gives powerful support to the claims for Ælfwald II. This by implication would give to Æthelred I credit for the coinage reform that introduced the practice of placing the moneyer's name on the coinage in place of the animal design.

Miss Pirie argued that the coin from Burton Fleming (Pl. 24, 2) was struck relatively early in Eardwulf's

reign, since aspects of its design and inscriptions relate it to the coinage of his predecessor Æthelred I rather than those of Ælfwald and Eanred. Thus the obverse has the king's title represented by an R with a bar above it for an abbreviation mark, as is also found on coins of Æthelred I of the same moneyer (Pl. 24, 1). The form of the reverse – +CVDHEARD (with a square C) around a small cross – is exactly paralleled on coins of Æthelred I, in the spelling of the name, the forms of the letters and the inclusion of an initial cross. It is likely to be by the same die-cutter, if indeed the reverse die had not originally been used under Æthelred I. By contrast, the reverses on the coins of Ælfwald and Eanred are quite different. Ælfwald's coins spell the name with a final T rather than D, they omit the initial cross, they used a round C and a uncial h rather than H, and they occasionally invert the A as a V (Pl. 24, 4–5). Eanred's coins are different again, spelling the name with a capital H and final D but omitting the E in the second element, thus CVDHARD (Pl. 24, 6). The various forms of reverse inscription are set out in Table 1.

TABLE 1: Reverse inscriptions on coins of the moneyer Cuthheard

Æthelred I	+CVDHEARD (square C)	Pl. 24, 1
Eardwulf (Burton Fleming)	+CVDHEARD (square C)	Pl. 24, 2
Eardwulf (Nr Driffield)	CVDhEVRT (round C)	Pl. 24, 3
Ælfwald II	CVDhEVRT, CVDhEART (round C)	Pl. 24, 4–5
Eanred	+CVDHARD (square C)	Pl. 24, 6

The new Eardwulf coin from near Driffield has a different obverse design from the Burton Fleming specimen, having a pellet rather than a cross in the centre, although both types can be paralleled in the coinages of Æthelred I and Eanred. There appears to be no abbreviation mark above the R for *rex*, although what appears to be a slight scratch in the die may perhaps be the remnants of such a bar. Otherwise the lettering and the occurrence of pellets in the obverse legend are fairly similar on both Eardwulf coins.

Far more distinctive on the Driffield coin is its reverse which is exactly like those of Ælfwald, lacking an initial cross, using a round C and uncial h, inverting the second A as a V, and spelling the name with a final T. It is indistinguishable from reverses of Ælfwald, and they must be broadly contemporary.

The two coins of Eardwulf provide the best evidence yet for the attribution of the Ælfwald coins,<sup>10</sup> supporting Miss Pirie's thesis that they do belong to Ælfwald II's

<sup>3</sup> A corpus of the coins of this period is included in Booth, 'Coinage and Northumbrian history'.

<sup>4</sup> C.S.S. Lyon, 'A reappraisal of the sceatta and styca coinage of Northumbria', *BNJ* 28 (1955–7), 227–42.

<sup>5</sup> J. Booth, 'Sceattas in Northumbria', *Sceattas in England and on the Continent*, edited by D. Hill and D.M. Metcalf (BAR British Series 128; Oxford, 1984), pp. 71–111; Booth, 'Coinage and Northumbrian history'.

<sup>6</sup> D.M. Metcalf, *Thrymsas and Sceattas in the Ashmolean Museum Oxford*, vol. 3 (London, 1994), pp. 594–600.

<sup>7</sup> H.E. Pagan, 'Northumbrian numismatic chronology in the ninth century', *BNJ* 38 (1969), 1–15. Pagan does not expressly attribute these coins to Ælfwald II, but as Booth pointed out in 1984 ('Sceattas in Northumbria', p. 86), it would have been a natural interpretation based on his attribution of the moneyer coins of Æthelred I to a hypothetical King Æthelred reigning c. 810.

<sup>8</sup> E.J.E. Pirie, 'Phases and groups within the styca coinage of Northumbria', *Coinage in Ninth-Century Northumbria*,

edited by Metcalf, pp. 103–45, at p. 110; Pirie, 'Eardwulf'; Pirie, *Coins of the Kingdom of Northumbria c. 700–867* (Llanfyllin, 1996), pp. 34–5.

<sup>9</sup> J. Booth, 'Northumbrian coinage and the productive site at South Newbald', *Yorkshire Numismatist* 3 (1997), 15–38, at pp. 19–20.

<sup>10</sup> The strongest evidence against the attribution to Ælfwald II had been the absence of these coins from the Hexham hoard (dep. c. 845) although it contained a number of coins of Æthelred I (Metcalf, *Thrymsas and Sceattas*, p. 596). However, this may not be statistically significant, since the scale of Æthelred's coinage appears to have been very substantial. Moreover, as Mr Pagan has pointed out to us, Grantley said that his specimen was first seen with a mass of base stycas and it had copper-like metal adhering to it, from which he inferred that 'it may have formed part of some hoard of later copper stycas of which it was an early silver representative' (Lord Grantley, 'On the North-Humbrian coinage of A.D. 758–808', *NC* 3rd series, 17 (1897), 134–44, at 138–9). This, of course, is no more persuasive than the Hexham evidence.

short reign, 806?–808? They demonstrate within one reign a change in spelling from CVDHEARD to CVDHEART/CVDHEVRT, showing that these do indeed represent the same man,<sup>11</sup> and CVDHEARD appears to be the earlier form. The number of Northumbrian coins from the late eighth and early ninth century is still comparatively small, but even so a pattern is emerging whereby the complement of four or five moneyers under Æthelred I was reduced to perhaps one sole moneyer (Cuthheard) under Eardwulf and Ælfwald II, before gradually expanding again under Eanred. The occurrence of the same moneyer on the coins of Eardwulf and Ælfwald endorses the attribution to Ælfwald II, as does the close similarity of some of their reverse dies. Whether the new Eardwulf coin was produced shortly before he was driven into exile by Ælfwald (806?) or after his restoration (808?) is impossible to tell on the present evidence – either seems feasible.<sup>12</sup>

Lyon, Pagan and Booth had each drawn attention to the absence of coins from the mid 790s until c. 810 or later. The fact that some nine coins can now be attributed to this period should not necessarily change our general interpretation, since compared with the number of coins surviving from immediately before and after that period they are few indeed. Moreover not only are the coins rare, but the York mint, as we have seen, seems to have reduced its complement of moneyers temporarily. Whether this contraction of mint activity was an effect of the Viking raids on Northumbria beginning in 793–4 as Booth argues,<sup>13</sup> or an interruption in North Sea trade as Metcalf would see it,<sup>14</sup> or a result of the political uncertainty that generally plagued Northumbria in the later eighth and early ninth centuries it is difficult to tell. Long term monetary trends may also be relevant, for the

debasement that was to become endemic in mid-ninth century Northumbria may already have begun by c. 800.<sup>15</sup> Evidently there were problems either with the viability of the Northumbrian penny (as it may well have been known)<sup>16</sup> at its current value or with an adequate supply of silver for monetary purposes. These may have been particularly acute at the turn of the eighth century. Any interpretation will remain speculative, but the evidence from single finds is clear. While we can reasonably expect a few more coins of Eardwulf and Ælfwald to be found over the coming years, unless a hoard turns up they will always be considerably rarer than the coins of Æthelred I and Eanred. Æthelred I's coinage marked a new departure in terms of design, perhaps mint administration, and probably output – Booth recorded more than sixty coins from the six-year second reign of Æthelred I, compared with only thirty-five from the preceding thirty-two years. Was Æthelred's issue part of a *renovatio monetæ* in which the preceding coinages were reminted, thus according for the greater mint output? There is much that could be learned about the coinages of this period from one substantial Northumbrian hoard of the early ninth century.

#### KEY TO PLATE<sup>24</sup>

1. BMC Æthelred II 293.
2. British Museum (1994-12-15-1).
3. Near Driffield find.
4. Lyon, 'A reappraisal', pl. 18, 7.
5. South Newbald find; Booth, 'Coinage', pl. 2, 3.
6. C. S. S. Lyon collection.

## A PARCEL OF SILVER PENNIES FROM THE BLACKHILLS HOARD

SALLY-ANNE COUPAR

ON 11 April 1911, the tenant farmer of Blackhills Farm, Kirkcudbrightshire (NGR: NG760750) discovered a coin hoard while ploughing. The hoard consisted of over two thousand Edwardian silver pennies, and it had been buried in a wooden bowl.

The hoard was declared treasure trove and was passed into the hands of the Royal Exchequer. This important find was analysed by Sir George Macdonald who published it in accordance with the state of research at that time.<sup>1</sup> When he had

<sup>11</sup> Booth had pointed out that this was an assumption that could not be taken for granted: Booth, in a discussion note within Pirie, 'Phases and groups', p. 133.

<sup>12</sup> Booth's suggestion that the Burton Fleming specimen could belong to Eardwulf's second reign seems very unlikely: Booth, 'Northumbrian coinage', p. 20.

<sup>13</sup> Booth, 'Coinage and Northumbrian history', pp. 72–6.

<sup>14</sup> Metcalf, in a discussion note within Booth, 'Coinage and Northumbrian history', at p. 84.

<sup>15</sup> The Eardwulf from Burton Fleming is only 45% 'silver' (Pirie, 'Eardwulf', p. 30), lower than coins of Æthelred I and

comparable to the finest coins of ? (G.R. Gilmore and D.M. Metcalf, 'The alloy of the Northumbrian coinage in the mid-ninth century', *Metallurgy in Numismatics I*, edited by D.M. Metcalf and W.A. Oddy (London, 1980), pp. 83–98, at p. 86; Booth, 'Coinage and Northumbrian history', p. 83). Unfortunately no coins have been analysed.

<sup>16</sup> The terms 'sceat' and 'styca' are ? applied by modern numismatics.

<sup>1</sup> G. Macdonald, 'Two hoards of Edwardian pennies recently found in Scotland', *NC* 13 (1913), 57–118.

completed his report, the National Museum of Antiquities of Scotland in Edinburgh retained eight of the coins, presumably returning the rest to the landowner, a Mr Whitby, as was then the customary practice.

During the course of 1993, a parcel of 380 Edwardian pennies was handed in to Dr Donal Bateson, Curator of Coins and Medals at the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow.<sup>2</sup> These coins had been found some years previously in a solicitor's office which was being cleared out prior to refurbishment. The coins were contained in a tin along with a piece of paper upon which was written 'from the Blackhills hoard'. This provenance is accepted as secure owing to the large number of coins involved and the number of coins in the parcel which matched descriptions given in Macdonald's report. Since the discovery and original publication of the hoard by Macdonald, the coins of the Edwardian period have been subjected to intensive study. The parcel of coins from the Blackhills hoard provided an exciting opportunity to reappraise the hoard in the light of modern research.<sup>3</sup>

The Blackhills hoard comprised 2059 coins which displayed the usual homogeneity of the larger hoards of this period (see Table 1).

TABLE 1: The composition of the Blackhills hoard

<i>English pence</i> <sup>4</sup>	
London	1014
Canterbury	486
Durham	225
Bury	52
Bristol	44
Chester	3
Exeter	3
Kingston upon Hull	7
Lincoln	9
Newcastle	18
York	42
Berwick	69
<i>Scottish pence</i>	
Alexander III	29
John Balliol	8
Robert I	6

<i>Irish pence</i>	
Dublin	19
Waterford	9

<i>Foreign pence</i>	
Gui de Dampierre, Flanders (c. 1288–1292)	1
John de Avenses, Hainaut (c. 1293–1297)	3
Robert de Bethune, Flanders (1305–1322)	2
Gaucher de Chatillon (1313–c. 1322)	5
VTEROP Imitation (early C14th)	1

<i>Sterling Imitations</i> <sup>5</sup>	
Edwre Series (C13th)	1

<i>Other Denominations</i>	
Halfpence (Berwick)	1
Farthing (London)	1

Blackhills is notable in that it only contained twelve continental sterling (0.6% of the hoard) which is considerably less than the 1–3% which featured in other hoards. It was also thought to have been fairly remarkable in having a very low number of continental imitations (0.1%). However, the evidence from the parcel shows that there were imitation sterling with English legends which went unnoticed by Macdonald. These are probably concealed amongst the equivalent of the Fox 10b issues, so it would seem likely that the percentage of continental imitations would be higher than originally thought. The relative proportions of sterling types in hoards is not an accurate indication of date of deposition, but the revised picture of Blackhills in the light of the parcel evidence shows it to have a profile very similar to that of Berscar, Loch Doon and Lochmaben, suggesting a concealment date in the 1330s.<sup>6</sup>

The relative proportions of the classes of English pence in hoards is thought to be a more reliable guide to the date of concealment. Mayhew suggests that the best results are given by the percentage of coins comprising Fox classes 11–15,<sup>7</sup> but these figures can only be estimated for Blackhills and cannot be worked out at all for Lochmaben. However, an analysis of the percentage of coins comprising Fox classes 10–15 was possible, and shows that Blackhills has a hoard profile which again suggests a date of concealment in the 1330s (see Table 2).

<sup>2</sup> I am grateful to Dr James McKay for allowing publication of this Blackhills parcel, which has now been returned to him.

<sup>3</sup> J.J. North, *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles 39: The J.J. North Collection; Edwardian English Silver Coins 1279–1351*, Oxford.

<sup>4</sup> Revised Stewart and North figures used, see I. Stewart and J.J. North, 'Edwardian sterling from Lochmaben, Blackhills and Mellendean reclassified', *NC*

150 (1990), 179–204.

<sup>5</sup> The hoard contains at least five C14th imitations which were listed in the English pence, probably under the equivalent of Fox 10b.

<sup>6</sup> See also N.J. Mayhew, 'The Aberdeen Upperkirkgate Hoard of 1886', *BNJ* 45 (1975), 34–5.

<sup>7</sup> N.J. Mayhew, 'The Aberdeen, St Nicholas Street, hoards of 1983 and 1984', *BNJ* 58 (1988), 40–68.

TABLE 2: The percentage of the English pence in hoards, by Fox class

<i>Hoard</i>	<i>Fox Class Date</i>	1-8	9	10	11-15	10-15
Boyton	c1325	20.8	10.8	42.0	26.7	68.7
Aberdeen	c1331-5	22.2	10.1	45.3	22.4	67.7
Upperkirkgate						
Berscar	c1331-5	22.5	11.1	62.3	4.2	66.5
Loch Doon	c1331-5	23.8	11.7	41.4	23.0	64.4
Blackhills	1330s	25.2	11.6	46.0	17.2	63.2
Lochmaben	1330s	26.5	11.6	—	—	61.9
Aberdeen 1983	mid 1340s	26.9	10.8	41.6	20.7	62.3
Aberdeen 1984	mid 1340s	27.2	11.5	40.5	20.6	61.1
Montrave	1360s	29.2	11.1	39.9	19.9	59.8

The parcel of coins from the Blackhills hoard contained 351 English pence, twenty-four coins from the mint at Berwick and five continental imitations. Of these, the more unusual examples have been illustrated (Pl. 23). Included are the 9b2 coin of Canterbury reading CASTOR (1) and the 'true' 9c coin of Bury St. Edmunds (2). The Berwick coins were an interesting group (3-8) especially the possible unrecorded variety of Blunt class 2 (4) and the crude local reverse die of class 5 (8).

The continental imitations in the parcel (9-12) show that, apart from the EDWRE series imitations identified by Macdonald, there were other imitation sterlings with English legends<sup>8</sup> in the hoard which went unnoticed by him.

The latest coins in the parcel are class 15b dated to between c. 1320 and 1322. The possibility that coins of 15c and 15d were in the hoard cannot be discounted. Analysis of Macdonald's report on the Berwick pence, in the light of evidence provided by the parcel, shows that he sometimes failed to notice the gothic N, as well as more obvious features like the form of the crown. The anomalies in his report can be attributed to the pressure of time upon him, the generally worn state of the coins, and the crude appearance of many of the Berwick coins. It seems unlikely that he would have failed to notice the pellets in the legend of the English 15d coins, but a case for the presence of 15c issues can be made.

Using the numismatic evidence to place Blackhills in a relative chronology of hoards suggests that it is a hoard of the 1330s rather than the 1320s as is traditionally believed (see Table 2). This conclusion is supported by the composition profile of the hoard and the degree of wear of the coins. The historical evidence also lends weight to this view,<sup>9</sup> placing Edward Balliol in Kirkcudbrightshire in 1332 when a surprise attack

forced him to flee to England. It is tempting to see the Blackhills hoard as either a Balliol bribe to a potentially useful ally, or money sent ahead by Balliol to a supporter to make preparations for his campaign, such as payment for supplies. Although his family estates had been awarded to the Douglas family by Robert I, Balliol maintained a core of loyal supporters in the area, and perhaps the incursion of the enemy into 'pro-Balliol' territory explains the deposition of the hoard. Regardless, it seems that both the numismatic profile and the historical evidence suggest a date of concealment in the early 1330s, and a date of c. 1332 seems most likely.

### THE BLACKHILLS PARCEL: CATALOGUE

All weights are in grams

Coins which have been illustrated are marked with \*

#### London

**4a4-4b** 1.44 Either transitional variety of 4a4/4b or early 4b

**4e** 1.37, 1.41, 1.41, 1.37, 1.05, 1.40, 1.30

**4e** 1.39 No pellet before LON. Possible 4e/4c mule

**4e** 1.39. Appears to be double-struck affecting lettering in third quarter. No visible pellet. Possible 4e/4c mule.

**9a1** 1.42 Barred Ns. Star on breast. Traces of double strike on rev. in fourth quarter

**9a1** 1.35 Barred A on obv. Barred Ns. Small pellet in TAS. Possible star on breast.

**9a2** 1.23 Barred Ns on obv. Possible pellet on breast.

**10ab1** *Trifoliate crown*. 1.37 Reverse of 9b with pothook Ns. Barred Ns on obv. HYB'

<sup>8</sup> See N.J. Mayhew, *Sterling Imitations of Edwardian Type*, London.

<sup>9</sup> B. Webster, The English occupations of Dumfriesshire in

the fourteenth century. *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 35 (1956-7), 64-80.



**10ab1 Bifoliate crown** 1.41, 1.35, 1.42, 1.38. Three have reverse of 9b with unbarred Ns.  
**10ab5** 1.45, 1.46, 1.37, 1.43, 1.35, 1.41, 1.42, 1.40, 1.43, 1.35, 1.43, 1.43  
 with hYB' 1.45, 1.44, 1.43, 1.43  
 with reversed N in DNS 1.45  
 with sinister jewel broken 1.29  
 with broken O in LON 1.43  
**10cf1** 1.45, 1.40, 1.41, 1.43, 1.39, 1.45, 1.43, 1.42, 1.44, 1.37, 1.38, 1.34, 1.41, 1.43, 1.36, 1.36, 1.38, 1.44, 1.45, 1.38, 1.43, 1.24, 1.37, 1.44, 1.43, 1.44, 1.42, 1.40, 1.37, 1.38  
 with dexter jewel missing. Pellet on right side of face 1.39  
 with dexter side lis struck separately and obv double-struck 1.45  
 with unusual drapery 1.42  
**10cf2** with unbroken crown 1.39, 1.43, 1.44, 1.40, 1.44, 1.37, 1.27, 1.39, 1.35, 1.41, 1.40, 1.46, 1.41, 1.42, 1.35, 1.41, 1.14, 1.39, 1.35, 1.45  
 with hYB' 1.47, 1.35  
 with possible cross on the breast 1.38  
 crown without dexter jewel 1.39, 1.43, 1.34  
**10cf3a1** with face 1 1.41, 1.44  
 with face 2 1.37, 1.35, 1.41, 1.41, 1.41, 1.39, 1.44, 1.43, 1.22  
 face 2 with hYB' 1.38, 1.44  
 face 2 with minute wedge after EDWAR 1.36  
 face 2 with unbarred Ns on rev. obv double-struck 1.41  
 face 2 with E on obv double-struck 1.41  
 face 2 with hYB: 1.42  
**10cf3a2** 1.35, 1.42  
**10cf3a3** 1.39  
**10cf3b1** 1.48, 1.44, 1.33, 1.37, 1.42, 1.40, 1.42, 1.45, 1.45, 1.46, 1.39, 1.44, 1.43, 1.32, 1.43, 1.40, 1.41, 1.38, 1.24  
 with wedge after hYB 1.47  
 with broken chin 1.40  
 as above with broken O 1.45, 1.38, 1.45, 1.35, 1.39, 1.40, 1.40, 1.43  
 with broken O and double-struck 1.42  
**10cf3b2** 1.37  
**10cf3 uncertain** 1.51, 1.42  
**10cf4** with broken O 1.39  
**11a1** with broken O 1.46, 1.43

### Canterbury

**4e** with pellet before TOR 1.36, 1.37, 1.29  
 pellet uncertain 1.36  
**9b1** with unbarred/pothook Ns 1.39, 1.26, 1.45, 1.37, 1.39, 1.39, 1.38  
 as before with star on breast 1.32, 1.40, 1.41, 1.37  
 as before with contractive marks 1.37  
 with unbarred/pothook Ns and possible star on breast 1.40  
**9b2** with unbarred Ns 1.42  
 as above with star on breast 1.40, 1.47  
 as above with rev reading CASTOR 1.41\* (1)  
 with unbarred Ns, contractive marks and barred A on obv 1.38

**10ab4** Unbarred Ns contractive marks. EDWRR 1.42  
**10cf1** 1.47, 1.45, 1.51, 1.37, 1.37  
**10cf2a** 1.41, 1.35, 1.39, 1.40, 1.46, 1.37, 1.45, 1.45  
 with obv reading EDWAR ANG ANGShYB. Double-struck 1.38  
**10cf2b** 1.44, 1.39, 1.46  
**10cf3a1** with face 1 1.41  
 with face 2 1.39  
**10cf3b1** 1.40, 1.32  
**10cf5b** with straight-sided I 1.43  
**10cf uncertain** 1.37  
**11a2** 1.47, 1.42  
 rev double-struck reads CANAN in third quarter 1.34  
**11b1** 1.38, 1.33  
**11b3** 1.23, 1.37  
**13** 1.37  
 with broken dexter jewel in crown 1.42  
 reads EDWARR 1.39, 1.47  
**14** EDWARR 1.40, 1.42  
**15b** EDWARR sinister jewel in crown broken 1.43

### Durham

**9b1 cross moline** Roman Ns contractive marks and star on breast 1.43, 1.19  
**9b1 plain cross** unbarred Ns, 1.34, 1.39, 1.10, 1.42  
 as above with star on breast 1.43  
 unbarred Ns and double-barred A on rev 1.44  
 Roman Ns and contractive marks 1.49  
**9b2 plain cross** with unbarred/pothook Ns and star on breast 1.36, 1.46, 1.42  
 as above with obv struck off-centre. Sinister side-fleur appears bifoliate 1.39  
**10cf1 cross moline** 1.43, 1.38, 1.41, 1.31, 1.36, 1.03, 1.17, 1.47  
 as above with pellet after CIVI 1.33  
**10cf2a cross moline** 1.47, 1.39, 1.31, 1.51, 1.64, 1.15, 1.46, 1.26  
 as above with rev double-struck 1.55  
**10cf2a initial mark uncertain** 1.58  
**10cf2b cross moline** 1.48  
**10cf2b initial mark uncertain** 1.21  
**10cf3a3 cross moline** 1.36  
**10cf3b1 cross moline** 1.35, 1.23, 1.35, 1.39, 1.26, 1.37, 1.46, 1.37, 1.56, 1.16, 1.31  
 as above with possible pellet on breast 1.33  
 with broken chin 1.50, 1.32, 1.58, 1.50  
 with I and M straight-sided 1.48  
 with odd initial mark, either broken moline punch or moline over plain cross 1.36  
**10cf3b1 initial mark uncertain** 1.44, 1.35  
**10cf3b2 cross moline** with large serifs to A and N 1.42  
 with straight-sided I 1.40  
**10cf3b2 initial mark uncertain** with straight-sided I and M 1.45  
**10cf4 cross moline** 1.32  
**10cf5a cross moline** with straight-sided I and M 1.37  
 as above with vertical stroke joining drapery to chin 1.46  
**10cf5b initial mark uncertain** 1.37  
**10cf uncertain. Initial mark uncertain** 1.42

**11a1 cross moline** 1.29, 1.26

**11a1 initial mark uncertain** 1.48

as above with top-tilted S 1.34

**11b1 crozier** 1.34

**11b3 crozier** 1.48

as above reading EDWARR 1.41, 144

**11b3 initial mark uncertain** EDWARR 1.36

**12a crozier** Crown I. EDWARR 1.16

**13 crozier** EDWARR 1.35, 1.31, 1.48, 1.36, 1.40, 1.40, 1.47, 1.26

as above with unusual drapery 1.46

with TAS: on rev 1.29

with broken dexter jewel in crown 1.45

**13 lion and lis** EDWARR 1 lis before lion 1.38

with 2 lis before lion, double-struck 1.22

EDWARR 2 lis before lion 1.32

**13 initial mark uncertain** 1.61

**14 lion and lis** with 1 lis before and after lion 1.55, 1.58, 1.32, 1.25, 1.28

as above reading EDWARR 1.46, 1.62, 1.25, 1.42, 1.48, 1.39

with 1 lis before lion EDWARR 1.41

with 1 lis after lion EDWARR 1.47, 1.47

with 2 lis before lion EDWARR 1.36, 1.36

with 1 lis after lion 1.29

with lion and lis worn 1.40

as above reading EDWARR 1.42, 1.30

**15b lion and lis** with 1 lis before lion EDWARR 1.42, 1.13

with 1 lis before and after lion EDWARR 1.38, 1.47

with 2 lis before lion EDWARR 1.39

with lion and lis worn 1.55

#### *Bristol*

**9b1** with unbarred Ns 1.41

as above with contractive marks 1.36

**9b2** with unbarred Ns and star on breast 1.38, 1.36, 1.36

with unbarred Ns, star uncertain 1.37

#### *Bury St Edmunds*

**9b1** Roman Ns, contractive marks and star on breast 1.37

**9b2** unbarred/pothook Ns obv, barred Ns rev and star on breast. Possible 9b obv muled with earlier rev 1.39

as above with star on breast 1.41

**9c** unbarred Ns, barred A obv, contractive marks 1.38\* (2)

#### *Exeter*

**9b2** unbarred Ns, star on breast 1.36

#### *Hull*

**9b1** unbarred Ns obv, double barred N rev, star on breast 1.43

#### *Newcastle*

**9b1** unbarred Ns and contractive marks 1.40

#### *York Royal*

**9b1** unbarred Ns 1.43 as above with star on breast 1.38, 1.33

#### *Berwick Upon Tweed*

**1** VILL/ABE/REV/VICI with wide face 1.23

as above with barred A on obv 1.32

with barred A on obv and narrow face. Obv reads hYD 1.39\* (3)

with legend uncertain and face unclear 1.37

**2b** with bifoliate crown. EDWAR ANGL DNSHYB, VILL/ABE/REV/VICI 1.46

**2 uncertain** with bifoliate crown EDWAR ANGL DNSHYB, VILL/ABE/REV/ICI class 2a/2b mule or possible unrecorded variety of class 2 1.43\* (4)

**3a2** VILL/ABE/REV/VICI 1.63, 1.41, 1.42, 1.39

with unbarred As, rearing WIL/LAB/ERE/VICI 1.53

rev legend unclear 1.45

**3b** VILL/ABE/REV/VICI with unbarred As and pellet-barred Ns 1.44

VILL/ABE/REV/VICI with barred As on obv and pellet-barred Ns 1.36

**4a** VILL/ABE/REV/VICI with pellet on breast and trifoliate crown 1.40, 1.41

**4b** VILL/ABE/REV/VICI with pellet on breast and bifoliate crown. Crown made from modified trifoliate punch? 1.36\* (5)

**5** VIL/LAB/ERE/WYCI 1.49, 1.48\* (6) 1.36

**5 mules** class 5 obv with class 4 rev. rev reads VILL/ABE/REV/VICI. revs have Roman Is and V with large serifs 1.37\* (7), 1.23, 1.46

class 5 obv with local rev die. Lettering on rev very crude 1.34\* (8)

#### *Continental Imitations with English Legends*

**Attributed to a continental source** obv EDWR ANGL DNS(hYB?) rev CIVITAS LONDOV. trifoliate crown, reversed N in ANGL, barred A both sides, wedge contractive marks, obv double-struck 0.83\* (9) with reversed Ns on obv. rev reads CANTOR 1.33\* (10)

#### **Unattributed Imitations of the EDWARRA series**

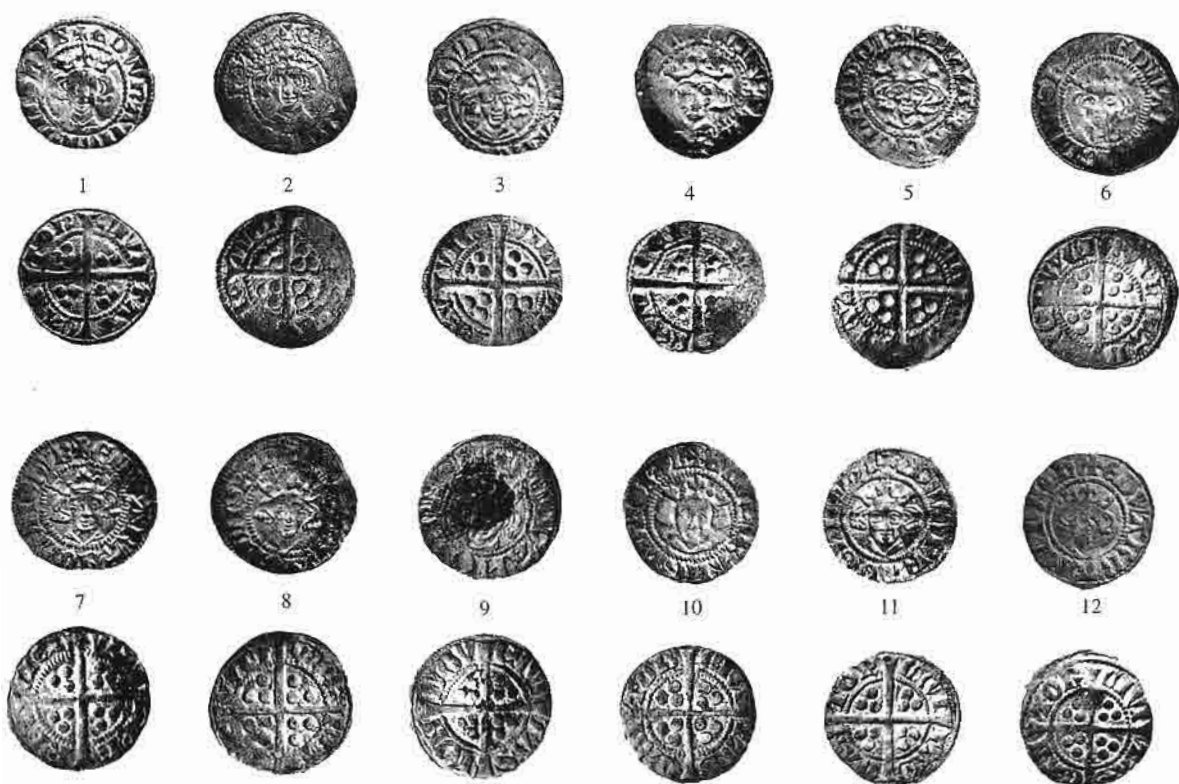
obv EDWARR ANGL DNSHYI, rev CIVITAS CANTOR 1.19\* (11)

obv EDWARR ANGL DNSh, rev CIVITAS CANTOR 1.36\* (12)

obv EDWARR ANGL DNS(hYB?), rev CIVITAS DUREME with plain cross initial mark? 1.24



DE JERSEY AND NEWMAN: IRON AGE COINS FROM BARHAM, SUFFOLK



COUPAR: BLACKHILLS HOARD



HARRIS AND SHARP: RASHLEIGH HALF GROAT

# A MID-FOURTEENTH-CENTURY HOARD FROM LLYSDINAM, POWYS

EDWARD BESLY

ON 30 August 1996, Mark Walters of the Clwyd-Powys Archaeological Trust reported to the National Museums & Galleries of Wales the recent discovery of a scattered hoard of silver coins near Newbridge on Wye, Powys. The coins were found by Messrs Steve Wood and John Boyle, using metal-detectors on farmland at Llysdinam in the area of SO 003584, and were delivered to the writer in Cardiff between September and November 1996. It appears that the coins had originally lain together, but had been scattered by a combination of tree root activity and cultivation. About thirty coins found within a few square metres formed a nucleus, with the remainder scattered more widely. Archaeological examination of the spot by C.P.A.T. provided no obvious evidence for the method of deposition, but brought to light three more coin fragments and two Edward III halfpennies, found adhering one to the other in a former tree root channel. The find was declared Treasure Trove at a coroner's inquest at Llandrindod Wells on 15 April 1997; it has been acquired by Powys County Museums Service for the Radnorshire Museum, Llandrindod Wells.

The hoard comprises 102 complete or fragmentary silver coins of Edward I, II and III (98 pennies and four halfpennies) and three pennies of Alexander III of Scotland. There are no Irish or Continental sterling. As may be expected with a mid-fourteenth-century find, many of the coins are well worn. In addition, many are broken or buckled as a result of repeated disturbance of the deposit and their physical preservation varies. A detailed 'North' classification to the standards of *SCBI* 39 has therefore proved to be achievable only in part.<sup>1</sup> There is a record of the uncleaned weights at the National Museum & Gallery Cardiff, but too few coins are intact and sufficiently well-preserved for useful interpretation. The clipping of at least six coins, one of them down to 0.88g (13.5gr), may be noted.

The Llysdinam find closes with three pennies (two of them fragmentary) and two halfpennies of Edward III's 'Florin' coinage of 1344–49 and appears to be the first hoard from the period around 1350 to be recorded from Wales. Hoards which close with coins of the 1340s are generally scarce, perhaps because of the modest output of English silver coinage during the 1320s–1340s: the disruptions of the French war and the Black Death of 1348 might perhaps otherwise be expected to yield

rather more.<sup>2</sup> A partial account from 10/11 Edward III (1336–7) from Radnor Castle provides some local evidence of money payments of wages at about this time: six men of the garrison were paid 42s. 9d. for fifty-seven days (1½d. per man per day) and the porter and forester 2d. per day each. Payments are also recorded for clearing the ruined foundations of the castle bridge at 2d. per day, and to two sawyers working on timber for the bridge: 3s. per week, or about 3d. per man per day.<sup>3</sup>

## SCHEDULE OF COINS

### ENGLAND

#### Edward I–II pennies

- 1.–4. *Berwick*: 2a; 2b; 4a/3 mule (clipped); 4c
- 5.–6. *Bristol*: 3c–d (two fragments); 3g
- 7.–13. *Bury*: 10cf<sub>1</sub> (2); 10cf<sub>3</sub>[b1?] late lettering; 11a<sub>2</sub> (2); 14; 15c
- 14.–39. *Canterbury*: 9b (frag.); 10cf<sub>1</sub> (3); 10cf<sub>1</sub>?; 10cf<sub>1</sub> or 2; 10cf<sub>2</sub> (3, one clipped); 10[cf<sub>2</sub>?] (frag.); 10cf<sub>3</sub>(a3); 10cf<sub>3</sub> Mayfield; 10cf<sub>3</sub> late lettering; 10cf<sub>3</sub>? (frag.); 10cf<sub>5</sub> (2); 10[cf?]; 11a<sub>2</sub>; 11b<sub>1</sub>?; 11b<sub>3</sub> (2); [11?]; 14 (2); 15a; 15b
- 40.–47. *Durham*: 9[b?; star on breast?] (frag.); 10cf<sub>3</sub> Bek, Mayfield; 10cf<sub>3</sub> Bek, late lettering; 10[cf?] (worn and incomplete); [10–11?] (clipped and worn); 13 Kellawe; 14 Beaumont; [14?]
- 48.–83. *London*: 2b (frag.); 3c–d; 3f; 4a–b; 4b; 4b–c; 4e; 8 (clipped); 9a<sub>1</sub>; 9a (frag.); 9[a]? (chipped); 9b (frag.); [9?]; 10ab<sub>5</sub>/9 (clipped); 10ab<sub>5</sub>; 10ab (frag.); 10cf<sub>1</sub> (2); 10cf<sub>2</sub> (4, one fragmentary); 10cf<sub>3</sub> Mayfield (2, one fragmentary); 10cf<sub>3</sub> late lettering (2); 10cf<sub>3</sub>? (2); 10[cf?] (2, both fragmentary); 11a<sub>2</sub> (clipped); 11b<sub>1</sub>; 14; 15; 13–15 (frag.); uncertain (frag.)
84. *Newcastle*: 10x (9b/10 mule)
- 85.–86. *York*: 2–3; 9b<sub>1</sub>
- 87.–95. *Uncertain mints, fragments*: 1d–3; 2b; 9 or earlier; 9; 10[ab<sub>5</sub>?]; 10cf<sub>2</sub>; 11[b?]; 14; uncertain

<sup>1</sup> I am very grateful to Nicholas Mayhew for his patient help with these identifications.

<sup>2</sup> B.J. Cook, 'Stanwix, Cumbria', forthcoming, summarises

the English hoard evidence for the 1340s and 1350s.

<sup>3</sup> E.J.L. Cole, 'An incomplete account 10/11 Edward III', *Radnorshire Society Transactions* 38 (1968), 39–43.

## Edward III

## London

- 96.–7. 'Star-marked' halfpence  
 98. 'Florin' coinage, penny, type 2? *cf. SCBI* 1078  
 99.–100. 'Florin' coinage, pennies, fragmentary  
 101.–102. 'Florin' coinage, halfpence  
 [nos 101–2 found adhering to one another at  
 site of 'nucleus' of hoard]

## SCOTLAND

- Alexander III, 2nd coinage c. 1280–6  
 103. Penny Stewart & North class B (chipped)  
 104. Penny class E (fragment)  
 105. Penny class M

Total face value: 103 pence, or 8s. 7d.

## THE RASHLEIGH HENRY IV HALF-GROAT

E.J. HARRIS AND MICHAEL SHARP

IN W.J. Potter's paper on 'The Silver Coinages of Richard II, Henry IV and Henry V' he illustrated the British Museum's specimen of a Heavy Coinage half groat of Henry IV; it seemed useful to have in this Journal an illustration of the Die 2 obverse. This is provided by the Grantley (1386) = Rashleigh (698) specimen (Pl. 23). The bust of Die 2 is narrower than that of Die 1 and the clearance between the fleurs on the crown band and those on the tressure arcs is

greater. There is no evidence for a mark such as a cross or star on the breast on this or on the Die 1 specimen Potter described. There is however a faint image of a fleur on the tressure at this point to be seen on the specimen found with the second Reigate hoard. The present illustration provides a clearer image of the reverse Die 1 than that previously published. The weight of this specimen is 32.3 grains (2.08 gm).

## A JACOBAN SILVER HOARD FROM BULL WHARF, LONDON

GARETH WILLIAMS

with a contribution by CAROLINE R. CARTWRIGHT

ON 30–31 October 1996 a hoard of 164 silver coins from England, Ireland, Scotland and Spain was discovered at Bull Wharf, near the Queenhythe Dock, by Mr. A.G. Pilson and Mr. I. Smith, who were metal-detecting under permit from the City of London. The coins were found closely grouped together at a depth of around 5 to 5½ feet. The find was reported to the City of London coroner's office, and sent to the British Museum for examination. Fortunately the coins had not been fully cleaned before their arrival at the museum, and it was possible to submit them for microscopic examination of the associated organic material, before passing them on for cleaning and conservation. The results of this examination, by Caroline R. Cartwright of the Department of Scientific Research, are given in detail as the Appendix to this paper. A photographic

record of the hoard, together with a list of weights, remains on file at the British Museum.<sup>1</sup>

The hoard contains 164 coins distributed across more than a century between the earliest coin (1497 or later) and the latest (1613–15). However, this chronological spread is artificially wide, since the only coin dating from before 1553 is a Spanish real of Ferdinand & Isabella, which may well have entered England during the reign of Philip and Mary (1554–8). The hoard can thus be seen as extending from the sole reign of Mary in 1553–4 down to some point in the reign of James VI and I (1603–25). The hoard ends weakly, with only a single coin later than 1608, but this coin, a halfgroat with the cinquefoil mintmark (1613–15), shows considerable signs of wear, suggesting that it had been in circulation for some time prior to the deposition of

<sup>1</sup> *BNJ* 30, 124–150.

<sup>2</sup> I am grateful to my colleagues John Kent and Barrie

Cook for helpful discussion of the contents of this hoard, and to Barrie in particular for reading through a draft of this paper. Any errors which remain are of course my own.



the hoard. The majority of the earlier coins are also in a very worn condition, many being chipped or cracked. As coins of Mary not infrequently survive even in hoards of the mid-late seventeenth century, it is difficult to provide a firm *terminus ante quem* for the deposition of the hoard. However, the absence of any coin later than the middle of the reign of James suggests that the hoard was probably deposited in the later years of James's reign, although the majority of the hoard could have been assembled some years earlier.

The English coins have a face value of £2 19s. 5d., while the other coins had an English value of approx. 5s. 9d., giving a total of £3 5s. 2d., or something over three months' wages for a common labourer, or the value of at least twenty-four cows at contemporary prices.

Analysis of organic material attached to the coins suggests that they may originally have been deposited in a box of ash wood (approx. 25 per cent of the coins show traces of the wood), which agrees with the close grouping of the coins in the ground as reported by the finders. Traces of flax and leather on a few of the coins may indicate the presence of bags within the wooden box. (See below for a more detailed discussion of the scientific analysis.) The deposition of the coins in bags in a box may be linked to the composition of the hoard. While none of the coins in the hoard is unusual, it is slightly unusual for a hoard to be made up predominantly of small change. This suggests that, rather than being a savings hoard, this group of coins represents the cash supply of someone reasonably prosperous doing business in low-value commodities.

This is consistent with the findspot of the hoard. The coins were found on the foreshore below Bull Wharf, and examination of old maps of the area, together with the archaeological record, suggests that the findspot would have been out in the river at the date when the coins were deposited.<sup>2</sup> This suggests accidental loss from a boat, adjacent to a busy harbour, rather than the deliberate deposition of the hoard for safe keeping. Because the coins were not apparently deposited with intent to recover, they were found not to be Treasure Trove by a coroner's inquest.

The coins themselves are mostly fairly unremarkable. However, the hoard does contain one curiosity – an Elizabethan groat disguised as a sixpence (Pl. 32). Since coins at this period did not carry denominations, the only way to distinguish between groat and sixpence (apart from size and weight) was the presence of a rose behind the queen's head on the obverse of the sixpence, and the date of issue above the shield on the reverse. In a period in which the clipping of coins was rife, this was a more immediate guide to the value of the coin than the size. The coin itself is quite worn, and

someone has simply scratched in crude marks in the appropriate places for the rose and the date. This does not stand up to close examination, nor does the size of the coin. It seems likely that this alteration was designed to fool people when it was used in the sort of transaction where large amounts of relatively small change (especially groats and sixpences) were changing hands quickly, and close examination was unlikely. While we cannot know whether the owner of the hoard was actually fooled, the presence of the false sixpence amongst so many other groats and sixpences suggests that the hoard as a whole was the product of just that sort of transaction.

The composition of the hoard is consistent with others of the period. While Jacobean hoards are relatively rare, it is not unusual for those which do turn up to contain predominantly lower denominations, by contrast with the higher denomination hoards later in the seventeenth century. The Bull Wharf hoard particularly invites comparison with the 1990 Barrow Gurney hoard which, though smaller, had a very similar composition, from Mary down to James, and even including two silver reales of Ferdinand and Isabella.<sup>3</sup> The hoard is also consistent with other Tudor and Jacobean hoards in that groats of Mary predominate over those of her successors.<sup>4</sup>

## CONTENTS OF THE HOARD: TYPES AND WEIGHTS (all weights in grammes)

### Mary

#### *Groat (32)*

1.81, 1.63, 1.34, 1.57, 1.53, 1.54, 1.62, 1.46, 1.51, 1.48, 1.29, 1.35, 1.78, 1.37, 1.45, 1.45, 1.42, 1.49, 1.29, 1.64, 1.52, 1.41, 1.57, 1.34, 1.31, 1.34, 1.53, 1.45, 1.55, 1.94, 1.54, 1.55.

### Philip and Mary

#### *Groat (10)*

1.70, 1.53, 1.61, 1.66, 1.44, 1.46, 1.36, 1.39, 1.52, 1.50.

### Elizabeth I

#### *1st Issue (1558–61)*

#### *Shilling*

Cross-crosslet (2) 5.61, 5.64; Martlet (3) 5.16, 5.34, 5.35

<sup>2</sup> I am grateful to Hazel Forsyth of the Museum of London for this information.

<sup>3</sup> B.J. Cook, 'Four Seventeenth Century Treasure Troves',

*BNJ* 60 (1990), 87–98.

<sup>4</sup> B.J. Cook, 'Recent Tudor Hoards', *BNJ* 64 (1994), 70–83.

*Groat*

Lis (2) 1.57, 1.60; Cross-crosslet (2) 1.62 (**Pl. 00, 0**), 1.39, 1.28, 1.57, 1.56, 1.77, 1.39, 1.32, 1.66, 1.63, 1.32, 1.45; Martlet (7) 1.44, 1.74, 1.42, 1.23, 1.33, 1.45, 1.59; initial mark illegible (1) 1.78

*2nd Issue (1561–82)**Sixpence*

Pheon (6) 1561: 2.81, 2.47, 2.58; 1562: 2.60; 1563: 2.69; 1564: 2.40; Rose (1) 1565: 2.50; Lion (3) 1566: 2.35, 2.52; 1567: 2.73; Coronet (8) 1567: 2.37; 1568: 2.21, 2.41, 2.32, 2.76; 1569: 2.77, 2.77, 2.53; Ermine (6) 1572: 2.49, 2.70, 2.81, 2.47; 1573: 2.89, 2.66; Acorn (2) 1573: 2.86, 2.62; Eglantine (3) 1575: 2.73, 2.85, 2.84; Plain cross (2) 1578: 2.55; 1579: 2.45; Long cross (1) 1580: 2.61.

*Threepence*

Pheon (1) 1563: 0.96; Coronet (2) 1567: 1.17, 1.19; Ermine (2) 1572: 1.36, 1.07; Plain cross (2) 1578: 1.33, 1.30; Long cross (1) 1581: 1.26; Sword (1) 1582: 1.10.

*3rd Issue (1583–1603)**Shilling*

Bell (1) 6.12; A (2) 5.51, 5.72; Hand (1) 6.03; Tun (3) 5.92, 5.85, 5.77; Woolpack (1) 6.04; 1 (1) 6.04; 2 (1) 5.70; Illegible mint mark (1) 5.77.

*Sixpence*

Bell (1) 1582: 2.72; A (3) 1583: 2.77; 1584: 2.73; 1582- (last character illegible): 2.68; Escallop (1) 1585: 2.68; Hand (1) 1591: 2.68; Woolpack (4) 1594: 2.46, 2.80; 1595: 2.76, 2.78.

*Halfgroat*

2 (1) 0.86

**James VI, Scotland***8th coinage (1601–4)**Thistle merk*

(1) 1602: 6.45

*One-eighth thistle merk*

(1) 1602: 0.84

**James VI & I, England***1st Coinage (1603–4)**Shilling*

Thistle (2) 5.61, 6.00; Lis (1) 5.70.

*Sixpence*

Thistle (2) 1603: 2.85, 2.81.

*Halfgroat*

Thistle (2) 0.97, 0.81; Lis (1) 0.88.

*2nd Coinage (1604–19)**Shilling*

Lis (4) 5.70, 5.80, 6.00, 5.87; Escallop (3) 5.49, 5.71, 5.86.

*Sixpence*

Lis (1) 1604: 2.76; Rose (1) 1605: 2.99; Coronet (2) 1607: 2.80; 1680: 2.52.

*Halfgroat*

Cinquefoil (1) 0.93.

**James VI & I, Ireland***1st Coinage (1603–4)**Sixpence*

Bell (3) 2.11, 1.99, 2.11; Martlet (2) 1.98, 2.08.

*2nd Coinage (1604–7)**Shilling*

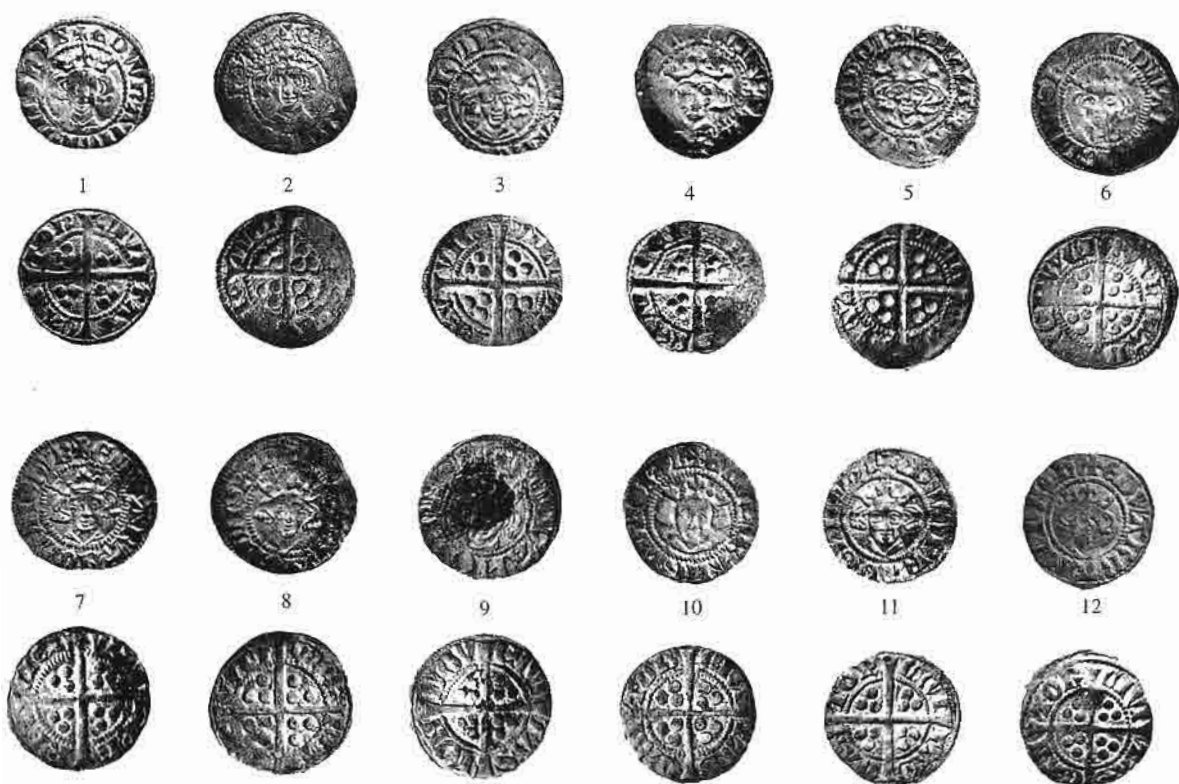
Martlet (1) 3.73; Rose (2) 4.19, 4.13.

**Spain, Ferdinand & Isabella***Real*

B (1) 2.22



DE JERSEY AND NEWMAN: IRON AGE COINS FROM BARHAM, SUFFOLK



COUPAR: BLACKHILLS HOARD



HARRIS AND SHARP: RASHLEIGH HALF GROAT

# APPENDIX: EXAMINATION OF ORGANIC REMAINS ASSOCIATED WITH THE COINS FOUND AT BULL WHARF

CAROLINE R. CARTWRIGHT

## Introduction

A hoard of 164 silver coins dating from the 16th and 17th centuries found at Bull Wharf on the Thames was submitted for examination as possible Treasure Trove. Initial assessment for surviving organic remains on the coins revealed positive traces in 55 instances.

## Microscopic examination

Standard techniques of optical microscopy using reflected (incident) light were used to examine and identify surviving organic traces. Table 1 contains a breakdown of the material identified. Mineral-replaced wood accounted for over 27 per cent of the organic remains. Sufficient diagnostic anatomical detail survived to enable identification to be made to *Fraxinus excelsior*, ash wood. The following features were

observed: a ring porous arrangement of vessels, dense alternate vessel pitting, simple perforation plates, mostly bi- and tri-seriate homocellular rays (with a few heterocellular rays present) and paratracheal circumvascular axial parenchyma. These fall within the key characteristics recorded by Schweingruber for *Fraxinus excelsior*, ash.<sup>5</sup> Since all the identifiable traces of wood were ash, it is possible that these traces may represent a wooden box, originally containing the coins. Examples of coin hoards within wooden boxes have been recorded from around this period.<sup>6</sup>

A few flax fibres were identified from two of the coins and vestigial traces of leather were found on four of the coins (mostly in association with one or more of the other categories of organic remains – see Table 1 for full details).<sup>7</sup> It is not clear whether these can be attributed to linen wrapping of the coins and/or possibly even a leather bag for containing some or all of the coins (within the wooden box). Examples of leather for bagging coins have also been recorded for the period.<sup>8</sup>

More recent (i.e. non mineral-replaced) grass stems and roots were found on ten of the coins, and presumably come from the burial environment.

TABLE 1: Analysis of organic remains

	wood	leather	wood & leather	flax fibres	wood & grass stems	wood, leather & grass stems	grass stems/roots	no organic remains
number of coins with traces of each material	41	1	1	2	1	2	7	109
percentage of total	25	0.61	0.61	1.22	0.61	1.22	4.27	66.46

# AN EARLY SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY HOARD FROM ARDNAVE POINT, ISLAY

J.D. BATESON

THIS hoard of ninety-two European silver coins was recovered in sand dunes on Ardnave Point, Islay, the most southerly of the Hebridean islands at NGR: NR 294749. The majority of the coins were found by Edward Wilks, the young son of Major and Mrs C.L. Wilks, during the summers of 1996 and 1997. While

holidaying on Islay in 1996, they were walking on the extensive sand dunes at Ardnave Point when they discovered the bulk of the coins where they had tumbled down from their hiding place when the face of a large dune had collapsed. A further search, with the aid of a metal-detector the following summer of 1997,

<sup>5</sup> F.H. Schweingruber, *Microscopic Wood Anatomy*, Swiss Federal Institute for Forest, Snow and Landscape Research, Birmensdorf, 3rd edition (1990).

<sup>6</sup> For example, the 1987 Ryhall hoard of over 3,000 coins, deposited c. 1642–3, contained in a rectangular box. T.H. McK. Clough and B.J. Cook, 'The 1987 Ryhall Treasure

Trove', *BNJ* 58 (1988), 96–101.

<sup>7</sup> The Textile Institute, *Identification of Textile Materials*. The Textile Institute, Manchester, revised 7th edition (1985).

<sup>8</sup> *Seventeenth Century Treasure troves*, p. 89. A hoard of coins deposited with the Court of Chancery c. 1700 (now on loan to the British Museum) was also contained in leather bags.

retrieved the remainder of the coins with one exception.

About the same time the site was visited by Dr David Caldwell, of the National Museums of Scotland, along with Mr Roger McWee, who found a final specimen after a very thorough search of the area also using a metal-detector. It would thus appear that the complete hoard has been recovered. No trace of a container came to light and nothing of archaeological interest, either associated finds or structural remains, was noted. There is nothing now visible that might once have served as a marker to aid the owner in the recovery of his hoard, but Mr McWee pointed out that the site's elevated position would have allowed sightings on more distant landmarks. The find was declared to be Treasure Trove.<sup>1</sup> Since this is the second seventeenth-century hoard from these sand dunes, it may be referred to as Ardnave No. 2.

The ninety-two coins are composed of eighty-eight 'dollars' and four 'half-dollars'. Half are *rijksdaalders* of the United Netherlands, mainly issues of West Friesland, Zeeland and Gelders ranging in date from 1592 to 1631 but with most belonging to the 1620s. A dozen *talers* are of Austrian origin and these are accompanied by eleven pieces struck at a number of the Imperial cities. A further sixteen *talers* and two *half-talers*, represent no fewer than seventeen of the multitude of German states which had the right to coin. Apart from four issues of Denmark, the remainder of the find is made up of one specimen each of Liège, Poland, Sweden, Switzerland and Transylvania. The last is one of fifteen coins in the hoard dating to before 1600.

Only four of the coins found are dated 1630 or later. These consist of a *taler* of 1630 of Sigismund III of Poland, two *speciedalers* of Christian IV of Denmark struck in 1630 and 1632, and a Zeeland *rijksdaalder* of 1631. All four are in fairly worn condition and must have been in circulation for a few years at least, but beyond that they should then be expected to be accompanied by issues of the earlier 1630s and perhaps later years. A date of deposition for the hoard of about 1635 would not seem unreasonable. The Scottish issues of Charles I from 1637 are not uncommon and his English issues, especially sixpences, shillings and halfcrowns, came north in some numbers as the situation degenerated after 1638. This hoard does not therefore appear to belong to the Civil War.

It is in fact an unusual hoard to come from Scotland in view of its containing only Continental issues. Among over a dozen hoards deposited between 1600 and 1640 three did not contain Scottish or English

coins: a hoard from Kincardine containing about forty Spanish 'dollars', of which the latest was of 1623; three 'dollars', one of 1631, found on the beach at Banff; and a discovery of twenty-two 'dollars', not dissimilar in range of origin to Ardnave No. 2, unearthed at Peterculter in Aberdeenshire, but unfortunately of uncertain date.<sup>2</sup>

However a mixture of Continental crown-sized 'dollars' and English and Scottish halfcrowns and smaller denominations is more usual, as seen in the forty-three coins from Cromarty deposited after 1635 and the larger hoards from Strathblane and Irvine, both from the West of Scotland and probably concealed between 1635 and 1640.<sup>3</sup> The English element dates back to an apparent influx of Tudor, mainly Elizabethan, issues after the accession of James VI to the English throne, and these along with subsequent issues played an important part in the Scottish currency until about 1670. Hoards from Castle Maol and Snizort on Skye and Ardmaddy Castle in Argyll show that such issues circulated in the West and Islands from early in the century.<sup>4</sup> The fact that Ardnave No. 2 consists solely of Continental coins would suggest that it was hidden immediately after arriving in Scotland and before it had time to join the local currency pool and mix with native issues.

The large proportion of Dutch *rijksdaalders*, exported in some numbers to the Baltic, along with the four coins of Christian IV of Denmark of which two are the latest pieces in the hoard, may indicate an ultimate Baltic origin for its contents. This may have been the route taken by a Scots mercenary returning home from the Thirty Years War. His savings may have been hidden once he had reached Islay, but it would seem rather ironic that after surviving the dangers of war some misfortune prevented him from recovering his cache.

Alternatively the coins may have come with a merchant who paid them out in exchange for food or other commodities. Islay, although no longer the centre of the then defunct Lordship of the Isles with its seat of power at Finlaggan on the eastern half of the Island, was nevertheless still of some importance and wealth and is a not unexpected stopping-place for a trading venture. Again misfortune may have prevented the new owner of the money from retrieving it and adding it to a wider range of currency.

However, misfortune in the form of shipwreck, may provide a third and more satisfactory explanation for the deposition of this hoard at Ardnave Point. It is a dangerous coast for ships and the sand dunes would have provided the nearest and quickest hiding place for

*Acknowledgements.* The author is grateful to David Caldwell and Nicholas Holmes for their help in the preparation of this report.

<sup>1</sup> The entire hoard has been acquired by the National Museums of Scotland. There is a full photographic record, along

with weights, in the Hunter Coin Cabinet, Glasgow University.

<sup>2</sup> See I.D. Brown and M. Dolley, *Coin Hoards of Great Britain and Ireland 1500-1967* (London, 1971), pp. 47-50, nos SO 28, SP 2 and SP 19.

<sup>3</sup> Brown and Dolley, nos SP 31, 23 and 12.

<sup>4</sup> Brown and Dolley, nos SO 27, 9 and 8.



the purse of an exhausted survivor coming ashore. Many reasons could then have prevented him from returning to the hiding place or perhaps the sand had shifted and the spot remained forever hidden from its luckless owner.

Although the Irvine hoard, noted above, contained 351 coins, most of the other early seventeenth-century Scottish hoards are somewhat smaller, usually with fewer than one hundred coins in each. Ardnave No. 2, with ninety-two coins, is therefore quite large for a Scottish pre-Civil-War hoard especially as the bulk of its contents consists of crown size coins. In terms of local value the ninety dollars in the find were worth over the not inconsiderable sum of £250 Scots. This was at a time when a labourer in Glasgow received approximately thirty shillings Scots per week and a

mason around double that sum. A cow could be bought for £10 Scots and a sheep for £3 Scots.<sup>5</sup>

This may be compared with the eighty-one coins from the Ardnave No. 1 hoard found in 1968 in sand dunes about half a mile to the south-west at NGR: NR 290747.<sup>6</sup> However the latter contained only thirty Continental coins, mostly *rijksdaalders*, *patagons* and Austrian *talers*, mixed with English shillings from 1550 to 1640 and halfcrowns from 1632 to 1638. This clearly constitutes a Civil War hoard and appears to have no connection with Ardnave No. 2 other than one of fortuitous location. However both, fully recorded, are a valuable contribution to the build-up of a comprehensive picture of the currency pattern in the West of Scotland in the first half of the seventeenth century.

## CATALOGUE

### UNITED NETHERLANDS

rijksdaalder	West Friesland	1592 (1), 1593 (1), 1598 (2)	4
	Utrecht	1592	1
Dutch rijksdaalder	Gelders	1619 (1), 1620? (1), 1621 (1), 1623 (1), 1624 (2), uncertain (1)	7
	Friesland	1613 (1), 1620 (1)	2
	Holland	1621 (1), 1623? (1)	2
	Overijssel	1618? (1), 1620 (1), uncertain (1)	3
	West Friesland	1612 (1), 1619 (1), 1620 (2), 1622 (2), 1622? (1), 1623 (1)	8
	Zeeland	1620 (1), 1621 (1), 1623 (3), 1624 (3), 1626? (1), 1631 (1)	10
	Utrecht	1619 (2), 1620 (1)	3
half Dutch rijksdaalder	Holland	1625?	1
	Overijssel	1628?	1

### AUSTRIA

Ferdinand I as King of Rome	taler 1548 (Joachimstal)	1
HRE Rudolf II	taler 1603 (Hall), 1607 (Hall, Ensisheim)	3
HRE Matthias	taler 1614 (Kuttenberg – chicken)	1
HRE Ferdinand II	taler 1624 (Brunn)	1
Archduke Ferdinand (1564–95)	taler, nd (Ensisheim x 2, Hall)	3
Archduke Leopold (as Bishop of Strassburg)	taler 1620 (Hall)	1
Salzburg, Archbishop of, Paris Von Lodron	taler 1623, 1625	2

### IMPERIAL CITIES

Frankfurt	taler 1622 (1), 1623 (1)	2
Hamburg	taler 1607 (1), 1621 (1), 1629 (1)	3
Kampen	rijksdaalder 1596 (2), 1598 (1)	3
Lübeck	taler 1627	1
Nuremberg	taler 1623	1
Zwolle	rijksdaalder nd (1594–1600)	1

### GERMANY

Anhalt, Joint rulers	taler 1624	1
Bavaria, Maximilian I (as Elector)	taler 1625	1
Germany, Brandenburg, Georg Wilhelm	half taler 1629	1

<sup>5</sup> See A.J.S. Gibson and T.C. Smout, *Prices, food and wages in Scotland 1550–1750* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 210 and 362, table 9.4

<sup>6</sup> See R.B.K. Stevenson and J. Porteous, 'Two Scottish seventeenth-century coin hoards', *BNJ* 41 (1972), 136–146.

Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Heinrich Julius (Bishop of Halberstadt)	taler 1607 (Zellerfeld)	1
Friedrich Ulrich	taler 1619, 1628	2
	half-taler 1628	1
Brunswick-Lüneburg-Harburg, Wilhelm	taler 1624 (Moisberg?)	1
Brunswick-Lüneburg, Christian (Bishop of Minden)	taler 1620	1
Erbach	taler 1623	1
Fugger, Maximilian of Wollenburg	taler 1621	1
Hanau-Münzenberg, Catharina Belgica Regent	taler 1623	1
Hessen-Cassel, Moritz	taler 1624	1
Jägerndord, Georg Friedrich of Brandenburg-Ansbach	taler 1599	1
Saxony – Albertine Line, August	taler 1573	1
Saxe-Altenburg, Four sons of Friedrich Wilhelm I of Weimar	taler 1608	1
Saxony, Johann Georg I and August of Naumburg	taler 1613	1
City of Freiburg	taler 1553	1
DENMARK		
Christian IV	speciedaler 1630, 1632 (Norway)	2
Holstein, Glückstadt, Christian IV	speciedaler 1623	1
Holstein-Gottorp, Frederick III	taler 1622	1
LIÈGE		
Gerard de Groesbeeck	rixdaler 1567	1
POLAND		
Sigismund III, Thorn	taler 1630	1
SWEDEN		
Gustavus Adolfus	4 marks 1615	1
SWITZERLAND		
City of St. Gallen	taler 1623	1
TRANSYLVANIA		
Sigmund Bathori	taler 1597	1

## A MIS-STRUCK SHILLING OF GEORGE III: MANY QUESTIONS AND A FEW ANSWERS

P.P. GASPAR AND H.E. MANVILLE

RECENTLY the Royal Mint received an early nineteenth-century mis-struck coin that helps to illustrate aspects of minting in the then-new Royal Mint on Tower Hill but also raises many questions. The Royal Mint does not possess any examples of unstruck blank flans from the period of the George III 'New Coinage' (1816–1820) – nor does it seem likely that coin blanks in other hands could be assigned with confidence to that era. Thus it is fortunate that a coin that is nearly an unstruck blank, a shilling of 1820 struck 90 per cent off-centre in area (Pl. 24, 1), has been discovered. Its characteristics suggest how an

unstruck flan of this era might have appeared: its diameter and thickness, weight, density (specific gravity) and, above all, a crucial aspect which normally would have been completely altered by striking – its edge.

### Description of the Coin

This coin, having been struck between two dies, although barely, may be described as follows: approximately 90 per cent of obverse and reverse are blank and show a directional pattern of parallel

scratches most evident along the axis 10 o'clock-4 o'clock on the obverse. These may be remnants of the rolling operation that converted an ingot into a metal strip, culminating in the drag-bench when the strip was squeezed down to its final thickness before round coin blanks were punched from it by a blanking press. Another possible explanation of these scratches, that they were caused by an adjustment of the weight of a heavy blank by a filing operation seems to be ruled out by: 1) a description of the adjustment process in the period just after the move of the Mint to Tower Hill as 'filing the edges, to bring them to the exact weight',<sup>1</sup> and 2) since this piece is so light that it is outside the remedy, it may be inferred that it was not adjusted.

Aside from the 10 per cent struck portion, the diameter of the flan is quite uniform:  $0.9108 \pm 0.0003$  inch ( $23.14 \pm 0.008$  mm) in the direction 10 o'clock-4 o'clock,  $0.9109 \pm 0.0003$  inch ( $23.14 \pm 0.008$  mm) along the 2 o'clock-8 o'clock line, and  $0.9106 \pm 0.0001$  inch ( $23.13 \pm 0.003$  mm) along the 3 o'clock-9 o'clock axis. The lack of elongation in the direction of the pattern of obverse scratches is puzzling if they are artifacts of the rolling operation. These dimensions can be compared with the 23.16 mm ( $0.9118$  inch) 6 o'clock-12 o'clock and 23.19 mm ( $0.9130$  inch) 3 o'clock-9 o'clock diameter of an 1820 shilling obverse die (Hocking ii, 601)<sup>2</sup> in the museum of the Royal Mint. The thickness of the coin at its centre is  $0.0503$  inches ( $1.28$  mm). The coin weighs  $5.62127 \pm 0.00018$  grams ( $86.75$  grains), compared to the official issue weight of 66 shillings to the Troy pound or  $87.272727$  grains ( $5.655$  grams). Thus the coin is light by  $0.034$  grams ( $0.52$  grain), which is outside the remedy for weight of 4.7 parts per thousand or  $0.027$  gram ( $0.41$  grain). The density (specific gravity) of the coin is  $10.37 \pm 0.03$  grams/cubic centimetre, which compares favourably with the value of  $10.36$  given by Caley.<sup>3</sup>

There are differences between the obverse and reverse of the 10 per cent struck portion. The obverse remnant shows the last digit of the 1820 date, the pointed tip of the truncation of the bust, a portion of the X, and the F:D: of the legend BRITT:REX F:D:. These are sharply struck and depressed below the 'obverse' surface of the flan (Pl. 24, 2). The reverse remnant consists of HONI of the motto HONI SOIT Q[UI] MAL Y PENSE on the Garter band, but it appears smeared toward the edge and is almost level with the surface plane of the 'reverse' (Pl. 24, 3).

### Position of the Dies and the Striking Sequence

It is well known that the upper die is under greater stress from the blow that impresses the designs on both surfaces of a coin blank than is the lower die, because the blank cushions the lower die from the impact. In the period of the hammered coinage the more easily replaced die, the reverse, was usually the upper die or trussel. The practice of placing the reverse die above and the obverse die below generally continued into the milled series, even when steam-driven machinery was used and there was no difference in the ease of production of obverse and reverse dies.

In the case of the George III New Coinage shillings (1816-1820), the use of the reverse as the upper die can be verified from existing die-caps. These occur when a struck coin adheres to one of the dies (almost always the upper die when a collar is employed) and causes brockages when struck against an incoming blank flan. The illustrated 1817 die-cap in the Royal Mint collection (Pl. 24, 4) strongly suggests that the reverse die was uppermost: the reverse design has retained its sharp image from adhering to the die after the coin was struck normally, while at least one brockage was struck with the coin's lower surface (the obverse design) acting in place of the reverse die, and the die-cap coin has begun to cup around the reverse die. Conversely, the obverse image on the coin has begun to spread after impacting at least once on a blank.

In attempting to reconstruct the striking sequence for the 1820 mis-strike, it seems likely that: (a) the blank flan was seated 90 per cent off-centre on the lower (obverse) die, (b) the mis-alignment prevented the collar from surrounding the blank during the descent of the upper (reverse) die, and (c) the blow from the upper die on the 10 per cent of the flan between the dies produced unequal impressions of the dies on the struck portion of the coin. The impression of the obverse (lower) die is sharper and further below the surface of the unstruck portion of the flan. The impression of the reverse (upper) die is somewhat blurred, as if the blank curled slightly around the neck of the upper die.

### Edge Marking and the Concave Edge

Two types of blank flans have been distinguished for the milled coinage. Type I flans are the round disks just as they are produced by a blanking press. Their edges

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<sup>1</sup> 'Coining Machinery' in *The American Edition of the New*

*Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*, Conducted by David Brewster (Philadelphia, 1815), pp. 574-581.

<sup>2</sup> W.J. Hocking, *Catalogue of the Coins, Tokens, Medals, Dies, and Seals in the Museum of the Royal Mint. Vol. II - Dies, Medals and Seals* (London, 1910), p. 36, no. 601.

<sup>3</sup> Earle A. Caley, *Analysis of Ancient Medals* (Oxford, 1964), p. 59.

have a characteristic partially torn, partially sheared appearance that can be seen on specimens of eighteenth-century farthings and halfpennies struck in the mint at the Tower. Type II flans have been passed through an upsetting mill or edge-marking apparatus (these machines have been given various names as indicated below). This apparatus compresses the edge of the blank, reducing its diameter and raising a shallow ridge around the rim of the flan. The purpose of this operation is to reduce the force exerted by the press that was required for the dies to produce a crisp impression of the designs (e.g. beading or denticles) near the coin edge and a square edge that will enable the coin to pile and stack and offer some protection against wear.

The 90 per cent off-centre 1820 shilling is virtually a Type II blank and offers the first opportunity to examine the product of the edge-marking apparatus in the 'new' Royal Mint relocated from the Tower to the handsome Smirke building on Little Tower Hill in the previous decade. There is very little information about the edge-marking apparatus employed in the early days on Tower Hill. This is not surprising, considering the similarity between the process employed to upset the edge of a blank and that used to impart lettering or graining to the edge in the old Mint within the Tower. During the entire period of its use from 1662 until the

beginning of the nineteenth century, the personnel entrusted with the edge-marking process were sworn by special oath to keep the operations of this device secret.

The anonymous article on 'Coinage' that appeared in 1820s editions of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and is attributed to Robert Mushet in a copy in the library of the Royal Mint, contains engravings dated 1818. While much of Boulton's steam-driven machinery is illustrated, the edge-marking machinery is a hand-operated parallel-bar machine that resembles the seventeenth-century Paris apparatus of Castaing, itself repatriated from London where it had been transplanted by Blondeau by 1656 and put into use at the Tower in 1662.<sup>4</sup> The Castaing apparatus was illustrated by Boizard in 1692.<sup>5</sup>

The coin that is the subject of this paper is *c.* 0.003 inches (0.08 mm) thicker at its rim than at its centre (0.054 *versus* 0.051 inch or 1.37 *versus* 1.29 mm). Dimensions for the mis-struck 1820 shilling are compared in the following table with those of a normal 1817 shilling and with data provided by Pettiford for cupro-nickel and 50 per cent silver shillings and a Mauritius 0.9166 fine silver rupee.<sup>6</sup> These data allow a comparison to be made of the edge-marking operation in 1820 and later versions of the edge-marking process.

TABLE 1: Effects of Edge-Marking and Striking on the Dimensions of Selected Coins

	<i>Blank Diameter<sup>a</sup> (marked)</i>	<i>Unmarked Blank Thickness</i>	<i>Rim Thickness of Marked Blank</i>	<i>Rim Thickness of Struck Coin</i>	<i>Diameter of Struck Coin</i>
1820 shilling (mis-struck)	0.9017" ± 0.0003"	0.0504" ± 0.0003"	0.0537" ± 0.0007"		
1817 shilling				0.0630" ± 0.0005"	0.9344" ± 0.0003"
0.500 Ag shilling (1932) <sup>6</sup>				0.075"	
Cu-Ni shilling <sup>6</sup>	0.921"	0.0585"	0.063"	0.072"	0.928"
0.9166 Ag Mauritius rupee <sup>6</sup>	1.179"	0.063"	0.069"		1.181"

a. Maximum dimensions

The difference between the rim thickness and the thickness over most of the flan of the mis-struck 1820 shilling, (0.0537 ± 0.0007) - (0.0504 ± 0.0003) = 0.0033 ± 0.0010", is smaller than the thickening of the rim during the edge-marking process for the two

twentieth-century examples for which data are provided by Pettiford: cupro-nickel shillings, 0.063 - 0.0585 = 0.0045", and Mauritius silver rupees, 0.069 - 0.063 = 0.006". The further increase in rim thickness during the striking process, as approximated by the difference

<sup>4</sup> P.P. Gaspar, 'Simon's Cromwell Crown Dies in the Royal Mint Museum and Blondeau's Method for the Production of Lettered Edges', *BNJ*, XLVI (1976), 55-63, Pl. ix.

<sup>5</sup> J. Boizard, *Traite des Monoyes, des leur Circonstances et Dependances* (Paris, 1692), opp. p. 143.

<sup>6</sup> P.H. Pettiford, *Notes on the Coining Processes for Royal Mint Apprentices*, 1952.

between the rim thicknesses of an unworn, normal 1817 shilling of the same design and the mis-struck 1820 shilling,  $(0.0630 \pm 0.0005) - (0.0537 \pm 0.0007) = 0.0093 \pm 0.0012$ ", is similar to that given by Pettiford for cupro-nickel shillings:  $0.072 - 0.063 = 0.009$ ".

Twentieth-century practice, according to Pettiford, was to 'mark' blanks so that their diameters were c. 0.002" smaller than that of the collar within which they were struck. The diameters of the finished coins, however, are c. 0.002" greater than the inner diameters of the collars in which they were struck, due to 'spring' upon being forced out of the collar.<sup>7</sup>

One further feature of the mis-struck piece should be noted: its slightly concave edge. The concavity is quite shallow. Measurements of the diameter at its maximum value with a standard micrometer and at its minimum with a 0.25" ball micrometer gave identical measurements within the 0.0007" statistical error of the intercalibration of the measurements. This places only an upper limit on the concavity, but the presence of the concavity was qualitatively confirmed by the resistance of the ball micrometer to motion perpendicular to the faces of the mis-struck coin when the balls were seated in the shallow depression in the edge.

The edges of Type II blanks should reflect the surface against which they were rolled, and in many cases they are flat or slightly convex. The purpose of the slight concavity of the mis-struck 1820 shilling, virtually a Type II blank, is uncertain. It may be that concavity, together with a slightly raised rim, contributed to the crispness of striking of design elements such as denticles, near the outer rim of the dies. During striking, the concave centre of the edge would expand outward to be impressed by the graining lines within the collar. Concavity also might help prevent burrs raised on the rim.

#### Questions about edge marking raised by the mis-struck 1820 shilling

It is quite clear that the blank on which this piece was struck was edge-marked (Pl. 24, 5). Since the rim was thickened only about one-half as much as in later practice, one wonders whether this difference reflects different capabilities of the apparatus employed. What do we know about the edge-marking apparatus in the new steam-powered mint at Tower Hill?

There is, in the library of the Royal Mint, a manuscript 'Inventory of Machinery of His Majesty's Mint' signed by George Rennie and dated 28 August 1818. It mentions a 'milling room' with three sets of 'milling frames' but these may well be machine tools

for dealing with disused crucibles rather than edge-marking apparatus. The absence of recognizable edge-marking apparatus from this inventory of the new mint may reflect the continued use of the old hand-powered parallel-bar machines of the Blondeau/Castaing type.

As already stated, the description of edge-marking in the article 'Coinage' in the *Britannica* of the 1820s is anachronistic, describing the application of grained or lettered edges to blanks before being struck by the dies in a Boulton steam-powered coining press which employed collars that could not be used with grained or lettered blanks.

There is an article entitled 'Coining Machinery' in *The American Edition of the New Edinburgh Encyclopaedia*, Conducted by David Brewster.<sup>1</sup> Along with engravings of the new steam-driven machinery at Tower Hill, there are illustrations of a hand-operated blanking press, parallel-bar 'milling' machine, and screw press. The text says of edge-marking: 'this operation, as before mentioned, is not shown in our mint, but we believe that Mr. Boulton has improved this process as well as the others; at least some of his coins have milling of a kind very different from any other, and which, we think, could not be done by the machine we have represented on plate CCI'.

A copy of a later manuscript in the library of the Royal Mint entitled 'Moneyer's Hand Book', written after 1856 by R.W. Franklyn, one of the last apprentices of the Company of Moneyers, also describes a hand-operated parallel-bar apparatus.<sup>8</sup> Franklyn added: 'this is merely an illustration of the old hand machine not now in use, having been superseded by steam machinery / though the principle is the same -/-'.

A rotary apparatus called a 'marking machine' or 'edge-compressor' was described and illustrated by George F. Ansell in 1862.<sup>9</sup> The machine illustrated by Ansell was designed and constructed by Meredith Jones. The blank is fed horizontally into a pair of grooves: one on a stationary block and the other cut into the face of a rotating disc. The blank is compressed and forced to revolve by the motion of the rotating disc, its diameter reduced and its edge thickened. The output of this machine was 700 blanks a minute. The eight coining presses struck at the rate of sixty to eighty coins a minute, so one rotary edge-marking machine could supply all of the new Boulton presses.

Ansell also informs us that: 'up to 1861 the best machine for this purpose was that invented and patented by Messrs. R. Heaton and Sons, . . .'. We have seen the abridgment of patent no. 1855, 11 August 1859 to R. and G. Heaton. While the inventions described are feed mechanisms for machines that mill the edges of blanks and strike them into coins, the machines

<sup>7</sup> Disappointingly, few if any of Franklyn's descriptions of mint apparatus are original. Those that have been checked are copied from readily available references like the *Britannica*.

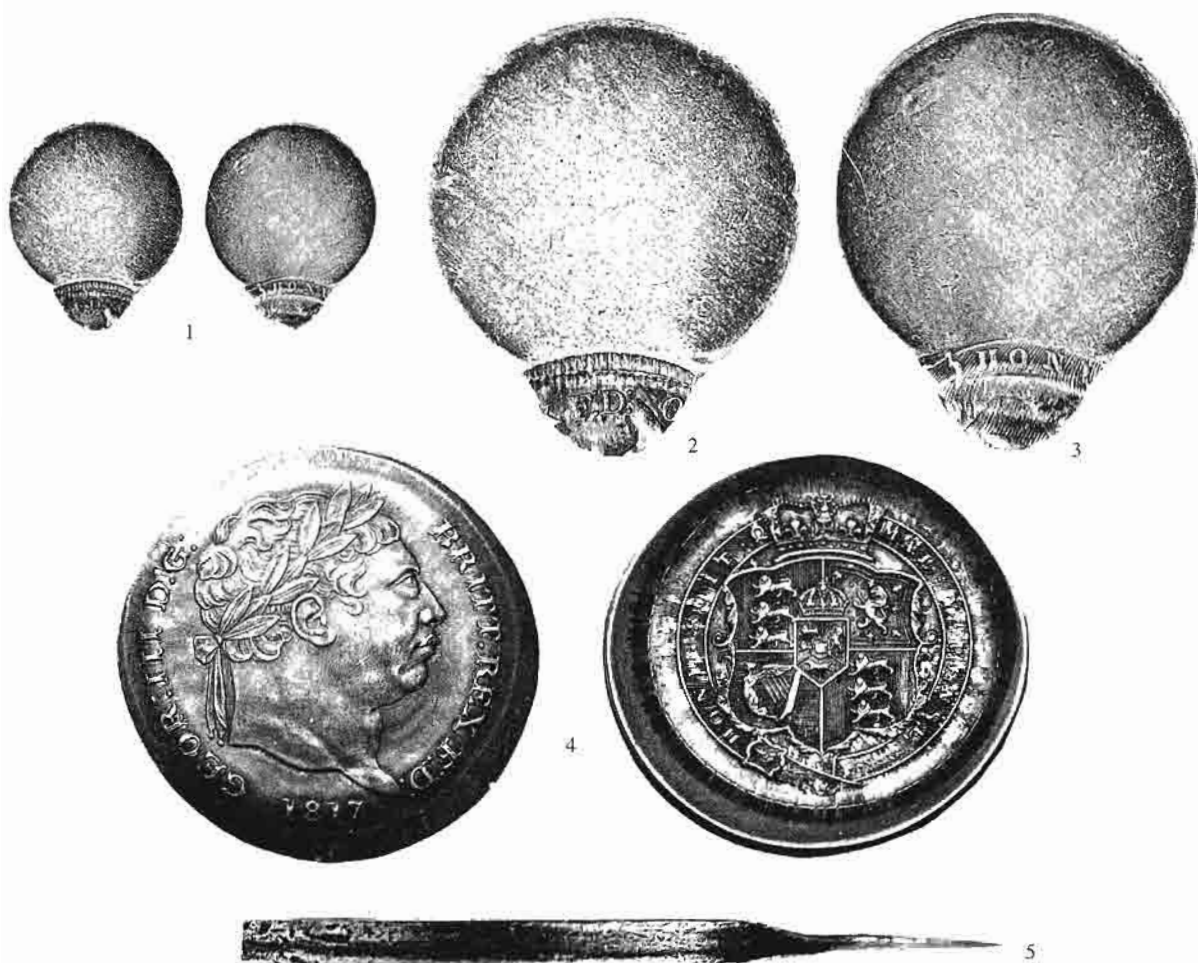
<sup>8</sup> G.F. Ansell, *A Treatise on Coining, From the Appendix to the new editions of Tomlinson's Cyclopaedia of Arts, Manufactures, &c.* (London, 1862), pp. 21, 22.

<sup>9</sup> PRO MINT/19 vol. II, p. 332.





BLACKBURN AND GILLIS: COINS OF KING ÆLFWALD



GASPAR AND MANVILLE: MIS-STRUCK SHILLING

themselves are diagrammed. The Heaton edge-marking apparatus forces a blank to revolve in a channel between the edge of a rotating disc and a curved shoe or jig. This is similar to the twentieth-century apparatus described by Pettiford.<sup>6</sup>

From the Newton papers it can be worked out that the hand-operated parallel-bar edge-marking apparatus of Blondeau worked at the rate of c. twenty blanks a minute.<sup>10</sup> It thus seems unlikely that such apparatus was kept in use at Tower Hill. Indeed Craig tells us that in the new mint: 'edge-marking machines were dropped for the nonce; they were revived for putting inscriptions on the edges of Waterloo medals, and from the 1830s were restored to general use for perfecting and raising the rims of all coins'.<sup>10</sup> The mis-struck 1820 shilling that is the subject of this paper demonstrates that some form of edge-marking apparatus was in use in 1820, so if Craig's statement is read as suggesting the contrary, it must be dismissed.

What kind of edge-marking apparatus was employed in 1820? Pettiford describes a power driven, automatically fed, parallel-bar machine in use at Tower Hill in the 1940s for the production of grooved 'security edges' on the blanks before they were struck within a collar in a coining press.<sup>6</sup> The speed of this

machine is not given, but it resembles the old hand-operated apparatus modified by a power source to give reciprocating motion to the slide to which one of the parallel bars is attached, and a feed mechanism. The blanks are fed horizontally and fit into grooves on both parallel bars, one fixed, the other attached to the slide. Movement of the slide forces the blank to revolve between the two bars impressing the security groove in its edge. An earlier version of such a power-driven parallel-bar machine may have been in use in 1820. This would allow edge-marking at a faster rate that was possible with a hand-actuated machine.

### Conclusion

The mis-struck 1820 shilling discussed in this paper provides a glimpse of a vital but incompletely and inconsistently documented phase in the production of coins in the new Tower Hill mint: the treatment of the blanks before they were struck in a coining press. That an edge-marking process was used to compress the edges of the blanks and cause their rims to become thicker is demonstrated by the physical characteristics of this specimen. It is hoped that this piece will help elucidate the nature of the apparatus employed.

## WHO WAS 'R.Y.'? SEARCHING FOR AN IDENTITY<sup>1</sup>

D.W. DYKES

THE *Gentleman's Magazine*, first published in 1731, was the archetype of those general-interest monthlies which, together with the novel and the newspaper, were a yardstick of the growth of a reading public in eighteenth-century Britain.<sup>2</sup> The first periodical to use the word 'magazine' in its title, it boasted 'more in quantity and greater variety than any book of the kind and price'. And, as a 'treasury of genteel opinion', *The Gentleman's Magazine* brought a wealth of enlightenment to a leisured readership: Parliamentary reports – which it pioneered – news items, notices of appointments, bankruptcies and deaths, poetic offerings, feature-articles and reviews all jostled for a place on its closely-printed pages; with Goldsmith's

precept of being 'never . . . long dull upon one subject' continually in mind, all were presented in what was hoped would be a lively and diverting manner.

With the humanities still at the heart of polite culture and with enthusiasm for the material remains of antiquity – increasingly the subject of collection, description and classification – the mark of the virtuoso, it was only natural that the current pervasive taste and curiosity in things of the past, extending into the relics of Britain's own history, should be reflected in the country's best-selling magazine. Antiquarian topics, superficial as their treatment might be, were thus recurring themes. And, in its heyday before the appearance of *The Numismatic Journal* and *The*

<sup>10</sup> J. Craig, *The Mint* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 272.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Robert Thompson first aroused my interest in the identity of 'R.Y.' by asking me if it could have been the collector I suggest in this note; my thanks are due to him, therefore, for setting me on the trail. I must stress, though, that what follows is purely an exercise in surmise and little more

than a personal *jeu d'esprit*.

<sup>2</sup> Despite competition from an increasing number of rivals – most notably *The Monthly* and *The European Magazine* – *The Gentleman's Magazine* soon established itself as the leading monthly of its sort, surviving – if latterly only as a shadow of itself – until after the Great War.

*Numismatic Chronicle* in the 1830s, *The Gentleman's Magazine*, with its notices of coin finds, questions of identification, essays and correspondence, was something of a storehouse of numismatic intelligence.<sup>3</sup> Obviously the emphasis was on ancient and medieval coinage but, in a magazine of eclectic taste embracing the interest of layman as well as connoisseur, even the present-day found a place in a medley of topical themes from talk of new coinages, accounts of crime – and especially its punishment – to reflections on the state of the currency.

The seventeenth-century trade token, having achieved some degree of antiquarian respectability thanks to Thomas Snelling,<sup>4</sup> was a constant subject of notice, but in the latter years of the eighteenth century its contemporary successor also attracted at least occasional attention. What was, as far as I know, the first illustration of an eighteenth-century token appeared in the *Supplement* to the magazine at the year's end of 1787 when, in a plate of miscellaneous coins, pride of place was given to the first substantive issue of the Parys Mine Company (the 'D' penny) which had ushered in the new token era in the early spring of that year.<sup>5</sup>

An engraving of a Cronebane halfpenny followed in 1789.<sup>6</sup> To readers of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, in any case probably not too directly affected by their circulation, such tokens were essentially curiosities. And, as currency, so long as reasonable standards were maintained, they were, on the whole, unexceptionable. It was not until an increasing mass of inferior pieces began to flood the market in 1794 that tokens became the subject of critical debate – or indeed any debate – in the magazine. Then, for a few months between the December of that year and the following spring, a vigorous, if brief, exchange of letters gave vent to mounting disquiet over a provincial coinage that was perceived to be increasingly dominated by low-weight and debased issues of questionable provenance and redemption little better than the ever-present dross of counterfeit halfpennies that had been the bugbear of the copper coinage for so many years. In March 1795 the

correspondence exhausted itself in an exasperated *cri de coeur*:

Whenever the din of war is over, which I sincerely pray may be soon, let those who are in authority, and to whom it belongs, encourage a Bolton [*sic*], and altogether suppress the Birmingham counterfeits and the tradesmen's tokens altogether.<sup>7</sup>

It was not to be renewed for eighteen months and then, in September 1796, not in terms of tokens as *currency* but rather, since provincial coins had by now become established as the quarry of the connoisseur although the 'token mania' of the previous year was on the wane, their *collection*. And, in particular, the 'arranging' or classifying of one's cabinet. Or ostensibly so, for although a new correspondent, 'R.Y.', set out to suggest a complex classification of tokens to save collectors 'much valuable time . . . in the same sort of trifling research', picking up the earlier theme his real purpose (which he confessed was the object he had in view) was to prevent:

the circulation of a great quantity of base metal, which is coined under the pretence of supplying persons who are collecting what are (as the business is now carried on, improperly) called Promissory Tokens. To those whom real taste, or a spirit of encouraging the Arts, has induced to form collections of this nature, the imposition, which has for a great length of time been practising, has long since been too apparent.

He went on:

The traffick on this sort of article has now got to so great a height, and is so systematically promoted by means of printed catalogues and other publications, that it seems fulltime [*sic*] to endeavour at the relief of a number of well-meaning individuals from the frauds which are creeping upon them; which are increased and increasing in such a degree as to make a pursuit, which at its commencement was an elegant, but not costly,

<sup>3</sup> Harrington E. Manville, *Numismatic Guide to British & Irish Periodicals 1731–1991* (*Encyclopaedia of British Numismatics*, Volume II, Part I (London 1993), pp. 3–131; a work which has greatly facilitated research in this period.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas Snelling (1713–73), numismatist, coin dealer and bookseller, published the first scholarly study of seventeenth-century trade tokens in his *View of the Copper Coin and Coinage of England* (London 1766), pp. 11–32.

<sup>5</sup> The plate appears opposite p. 1156 in the *Supplement* to *The Gentleman's Magazine* [hereafter *GM*], 1787, Part II. Also illustrated were specimens of the Parys Mine Company's second 'Druid' issue – though described in the explanation to the plate (p. 1160) as a counterfeit – and a Wilkinson token also manufactured by the Parys Mine Company. The 'D' penny was the prime subject of the magazine feature: a 'Copper Token [Fig. 1], as it may be called, in imitation of those struck in the last century, for the like purpose, (one of which, issued at

Holyhead, by Hugh Davis, 1666, is here copied, fig. 3) is coined in Birmingham for the use of the great copper mine in the Isle of Anglesea, called *Paris Mountain*, they not being able to procure good halfpence for the payment of their labourers'. It was, though, as much a deficiency of *silver* for wage-payments as the Parys Mine Company's lack of 'good halfpence' that brought about the Anglesea tokens, and, critically, Thomas Williams's jockeying for a regal copper coinage contract.

<sup>6</sup> *GM* 1789, Part II (September), Plate III with explanatory note p. 822; also illustrated were two seventeenth-century Yarmouth tokens.

<sup>7</sup> *GM* 1795, Part I (March), 200. The series of letters appears in *GM* 1794, Part II (December), 1081–83 [from 'Manchester']; 1795, Part I (January), 14–15 ['S.E.K.']; 1795, Part I (January), 33–35 ['AN OCCASIONAL CORRESPONDENT']; 1795, Part I (February), 130 ['S.E.']; 1795, Part I (March), 199–200 ['OBADIAH'].

one, an object of very great expence; indeed, of an expence great in proportion as the art of coining is disgraced.<sup>8</sup>

Prima facie, 'R.Y.'s criticism was directed at the mules and concoctions fabricated for the seedier London dealers and puffed by their catalogues.<sup>9</sup> Charles Pye, he noted, had 'so long ago as September 1795, to his honour, disdained to let his name appear any longer to the publication he had been conducting [i.e. Pye's serial octavo plates of engravings, *Provincial Copper Coins and Tokens*, published between June 1794 and August 1795]. He considered the productions then daily issuing as a disgrace to the age he lived in; and, having presented the publick with the representations of all that had any merit, very properly closed his work'.<sup>10</sup>

'R.Y.'s letter, which also contained a critique of the accuracy of some of Pye's drawings, elicited a reply from the engraver himself in the December issue of the magazine. (In the meantime, 'R.Y.' had had an opportunity of seeing for himself, 'from the respectable hands in which they were at Birmingham', some of the actual tokens Pye had used for his engravings and had sent in an emendatory postscript on 7 October 1796.)<sup>11</sup> Pye's rejoinder was corrective but courteous, and supportive both of 'R.Y.'s 'mode of arrangement' and of his strictures on the current spate of concoctions:

So long as they [provincial coins] were manufactured with reputation [wrote Pye], it was to me a pleasing study; but, when they were counterfeited for the worst of purposes, to *impose upon the publick*, the obverses and reverses mixed on purpose to make variety, and the inscription on the edges varied for the same purpose, it became a matter of surprize to me that the collectors would suffer themselves to be duped in this manner . . . The manufacturing of this rubbish, or, as it may properly be called, wasting of copper, has been systematically brought forward; and collectors have purchased without considering that they were manufactured for no other purpose than to impose on them.<sup>12</sup>

The pleasantries of this cosy colloquy were rudely shattered in the January 1797 issue of the magazine by a blistering attack on 'R.Y.' from one 'CIVIS', writing from the '*Banks of the Tay*'.<sup>13</sup> The over-earnest 'CIVIS' had been piqued by 'R.Y.'s 'lofty tone', 'frigid disgust' and 'affectation',<sup>14</sup> and there was little that he could agree with in the latter's letter.

'R.Y.'s elaboration of 'seven different descriptions' was both 'troublesome and unnecessary'.<sup>15</sup> But, of all 'R.Y.'s grievances, what especially affronted 'CIVIS' was the former's attitude to political pieces. Recalling to 'more regular collectors of provincial tokens . . . the objects they had in view when they first entered on the pursuit' 'R.Y.' had commented in a craftily disingenuous paragraph:

Judging from myself, I say that those objects were the collecting and preserving a particular species of coinage, which hereafter might be a curiosity, would do credit to the Artists who had assisted in it, and shew posterity to what an improved state the art had advanced at the present times. They little meant to lend their sanction to the clumsy and paltry productions which are hourly issuing from every dirty alley in London or Birmingham, for the purposes of imposition; *in some instances for purposes of a more serious and premeditated ill-tendency; much less to the encouragement of a very extensive circulation of base coinage* [my italics].<sup>16</sup>

That 'R.Y.' was as much concerned with the subversive nature of tokens as with the fraud of concoctions is brought out again by his advice to 'more regular' collectors on the 'division of their cabinet': having suggested six heads, he had added, pointedly, that 'such as wish to drink from the very ditch of this dirty traffick may make a seventh division for political pieces'.<sup>17</sup>

While agreeing with 'R.Y.' that 'a very large proportion of these pieces . . . from their mean execution and designs . . . [were] unworthy of the patronage of any person of good taste and good sense', the latter's 'very peevish humour' was too much for 'CIVIS':

Pye's dates (1749–1830) are frequently confused with those of his elder son, also Charles (1777–1864) and also an engraver.

<sup>8</sup> *GM* 1796, Part II (September), 752–3; 753.

<sup>9</sup> 'Christopher Williams', *A Descriptive List of the Provincial Copper Coins* (London [John Hammond, 12 St. Martin's Lane] 1795); T. Spence, *The Coin Collector's Companion* (London [Thomas Spence, 8 Little Turnstile, High Holborn] 1795); J. Hammond, *The Virtuoso's Guide* (London [John Hammond in association with Matthew Denton, Hospital Gate, West Smithfield] 1795); M. Denton, (T. Prattent, from April 1797), *The Virtuoso's Companion and Coin Collector's Guide* (London [Matthew Denton (from September 1796 at 139, St Johns Street West Smithfield)] 1795–97); for a survey of these catalogues see David Dykes, *Virtuosos' Companions* (London forthcoming).

<sup>10</sup> As in n. 8, p. 753; see Charles Pye, *Provincial Copper Coins or Tokens issued between the Years 1787 and 1796* (London and Birmingham 1795), 'Advertisement'.

<sup>11</sup> *GM* 1796, Part II (October), 837–38.

<sup>12</sup> *GM* 1796, Part II (December), 991–92.

<sup>13</sup> *GM* 1797, Part I (January), 31–34.

<sup>14</sup> As in n. 13, 31: 'R.Y.' had languorously opened his original letter by saying that it was 'the offspring of more labour than I should readily confess that I had taken on such a subject' and had closed it 'his hand being now tired'.

<sup>15</sup> As in n. 13, 33: 'CIVIS' advocated a basic alphabetical classification of one general class of tokens 'as Mr Birchall [Samuel Birchall, *A Descriptive List of the Provincial Copper Coins or Tokens* . . . (Leeds 1796)] has very properly done'.

<sup>16</sup> *GM* 1796, Part II (September), 753.

<sup>17</sup> As in n. 16, 754.

... the trifling political jettions of Spence and others, sedition pieces (improperly put into Birchall's List, p. 3) &c. ... can produce no effect more important than that of licentious caricatures, which excite laughter, or incur contempt ... [S]urely R.Y. does not 'do well to be angry,' and ascribe a grovelling taste for dirty ditch-water to such of his brother collectors as may be disposed to set apart a cell or two in a miscellaneous drawer for such *lusae monetae*. The enlightened medallist is of no party.<sup>18</sup>

In April 'R.Y.' responded to 'CIVIS's 'ill-tempered reflexions', justifying his 'arrangement' with its potential for comparison whereby 'pieces of merit would continue to find their way into cabinets' while 'the trash would be thrown aside'. Again, it was political pieces that were uppermost in his mind:

[T]he Trial-tokens, when seen together in the same drawer, will appear what they really are, with a very few exceptions, beneath the notice of any friend of the Arts. By classing the political pieces together he will observe better how little merit is to be found in them. For the most part, they are despicable in their designs, and most clumsily struck on the basest metal.<sup>19</sup>

While 'CIVIS', perhaps, would have found 'R.Y.'s censure of *The Virtuoso's Companion* for its promotion of Spence's and Denton's own mules that followed unexceptionable, he would hardly have been mollified by 'R.Y.'s condemnation of the 'Trial Tokens': he had himself, after all, expatiated on 'the cruel imprisonment of Ridgeway and Symonds and the glorious and memorable acquittal of Hardy and others' in *The Monthly Magazine* of the previous December.<sup>20</sup> It is also unlikely that a later paragraph would have passed 'CIVIS' by:

It is not long since I called at Spence's shop, and saw many many thousands of different tokens lying in heaps ... I confess, considering the number I saw struck, and what the subjects of them were, I thought myself justified in supposing that it was the intention to circulate them very widely ... [I]t is not because a jetton proceeds from the shop of one of the three

Thomas's that I would reject it, but because, having no merit in the execution, *I see no good, but many bad purposes answered by encouraging its circulation* [my italics].<sup>21</sup>

Again an artful statement capable of being read in more than one way; the working of a lawyer's mind, perhaps, which was only too aware of the insidious nature of radical propaganda and Spence's command of it.

Contribution to *The Gentleman's Magazine*, by tradition, tended to be anonymous or pseudonymous and although the identity of some of its correspondents can be traced from the Nichols File in the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington, D.C., that of the majority still remains a mystery.<sup>22</sup> Such is the case with our writers on provincial coins who, in adopting an incognito, consigned themselves to limbo. While we know from a variety of sources that 'CIVIS' was the irrepressible radical merchant James Wright, Junior, of Dundee,<sup>23</sup> the hapless 'R.Y.' has defied recognition. There are, though, a few internal clues in the letters which perhaps go some way to suggesting who he might have been. What follows is an attempt, admittedly slightly speculative, to unmask him.

We must start with 'R.Y.'s letter in the April 1797 issue of *The Gentleman's Magazine*. Here he tells us that he lives 'in the neighbourhood of a very populous manufacturing town, the principal inhabitants of which long since cautioned their fellow-townsmen against taking the base metal in circulation'.<sup>24</sup> This, I feel, is little more than a thinly veiled reference to the widely reported decision of the magistrates and inhabitants of Stockport in January 1789, famously quoted by Matthew Boulton to Lord Hawkesbury, to take 'no other halfpence in future than those of the Anglesea Company'.<sup>25</sup> If I am right it would mean that 'R.Y.' lived not too far from the mushrooming industrial sprawl of Manchester.

Secondly, in his letter of 7 October 1796, as we have seen, he indicates that he had had the opportunity, if a hurried one, of looking over the tokens that Charles Pye had used for the engravings in his *Provincial Copper Coins or Tokens*.<sup>26</sup> The implication of this statement is that at some point between 21 August – the date of his first letter – and 7 October he had himself been to Birmingham.

<sup>18</sup> *GM* 1797, Part I (January), 34; 31; 32. 'CIVIS', as someone with extreme radical leanings, had good reason to underplay the revolutionary spirit and language of the political pieces. Equally, he could readily appreciate the satirical intent of Spence's productions. On the satire of Spence's tokens see Marcus Wood, *Radical Satire and Print Culture 1790–1822* (Oxford 1994), pp. 64–95.

<sup>19</sup> *GM* 1797, Part I (April), 267–68.

<sup>20</sup> *The Monthly Magazine*, December 1796, 869. In *GM* 1798, Part I (March), 215, another correspondent [Charles Shephard] was to take 'CIVIS' to task for thus introducing 'the uncertain subject of politics and anti-ministerial defamation in essays of a very different and more invariable nature'.

<sup>21</sup> *GM* 1797, Part I (April), 269.

<sup>22</sup> James K. Kuist, *The Nichols File of the Gentleman's Magazine* (Madison, Wisconsin 1982), *passim*.

<sup>23</sup> D.W. Dykes, 'James Wright, Junior (1768–98). The Radical Numismatist of Dundee', *NCirc.* Vol. CIV (1996), 6, 195–99; and D. W. Dykes, 'Mr. Croom's Halfpennies', *NCirc.* Vol. CVI (1998), forthcoming.

<sup>24</sup> *GM* 1797, Part I (April), 269.

<sup>25</sup> Matthew Boulton Papers [Birmingham Central Library] 237/13; quoted in Dickinson, H.W., *Matthew Boulton* (Cambridge 1937), p. 139.

<sup>26</sup> *GM* 1796, Part II (October), 838; 1797 (April), Part I, 267.



In the third place, although, in the face of the onslaught from Wright, 'R.Y.' had stressed the crudity of the fabric and the paucity of the design of political pieces, one is never left in any real doubt about his instinctive suspicion of the seditious intent of such tokens and his total lack of sympathy for extreme radical politics.<sup>27</sup>

These clues – if such they are – are admittedly sketchy in the extreme but, taken with 'R.Y.'s initials, they do point to a particular contemporary collector who had more than a passing interest in provincial coins, who was rigidly orthodox in his political opinions and who had a virtually professional sensitivity to seditious propaganda, real or perceived.

It was not an unusual eighteenth-century practice to invent a pseudonym simply by using as initials certain letters of one's name, the first letter of a forename and the last of one's surname, for example. If this is the case here then 'R.Y.' might conceivably suggest the collector William Robert Hay (1761–1839). Although Hay's *formal* practice was to use both his forenames or, more usually, his initials, his preferred Christian name – inherited from his uncle and godfather Robert Hay Drummond, archbishop of York (1761–76) – seems to have been Robert; and, to his radical detractors, in the days of his notoriety after 'Peterloo', he became known as the 'Reverend Robert Rednose'.<sup>28</sup>

If Hay is our man then the other clues *could* fall into place. In 1796 Hay, the third son of the Honourable Edward Hay and grandson of the seventh earl of Kinnoul, was a barrister practising on the Northern Circuit and holding the office of steward of the Manorial Court of Manchester. His biographer, Canon Raines, tells us, however, that 'his briefs were few, and not succeeding in his first oratorical efforts, he had the prudence to abandon the pursuit of the law' and entered the Church.<sup>29</sup> In 1793 Hay had married the daughter of a Manchester surgeon, William Wagstaffe, and widow of John Astley of Dukinfield in Cheshire and lived at Dukinfield Lodge, both as a barrister and as a clergyman, until his presentation to the rectory of Ackworth in the West Riding in 1802. In 1796–97 Hay, still a barrister, would have been resident in Dukinfield

which happened to be a township of the parish of Stockport a bare eight miles from the centre of Manchester, already 'a very populous manufacturing town' of some 80,000 souls.

Hay was a numismatist with a particular interest in eighteenth-century provincial coinage, and together with two Manchester colleagues, Thomas Tomlinson, a surgeon, and William Orme, a drawing master, he was responsible for the issue of the 1796 'private' Buxton token [Dalton & Hamer – Derbyshire 1–3].<sup>30</sup> He had evidently subscribed to Pye's original octavo plates and to *The Virtuoso's Companion*, and possessed what Hamer concluded was a presentation copy of Birchall's *Alphabetical List of Provincial Copper Coins or Tokens*, which he used as a sort of catalogue of his collection. Hay was an inveterate jotter and grangerizer and his bound copies of 'Pye' and of 'Denton' are quite heavily annotated with comments that have become valuable primary evidence for the numismatist.<sup>31</sup>

There are some remarkable congruences between a number of these notes and what 'R.Y.' has to say especially in respect of 'Pye' and 'Denton' which I do not think can be explained away simply on a prior reading of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, although Hay makes it plain that he had digested Pye's letter of December 1796 and refers to it in his copy of the plates. While there is no clear indication as to when his notes were composed, some of those in 'Denton' seem to span a considerable period of time, up to 1818 at least; the notes in 'Pye', on the other hand, appear to have a more immediate contemporary quality.

Two entries in Hay's 'Pye', for example, catch the eye. In respect of Plate 3, no. 2 [Roe & Company's 'Bust' halfpenny dated 1792] Hay writes 'I have one of these, dated 1790, which is the original. Indeed as I understood from Mr. Abraham Mills, who at present is one of the partners in the same Copper Works, all other dates are counterfeits, as only one die was ever cast'. 'R.Y.', in his letter of September 1796, states 'Of that [the Macclesfield halfpenny] with Mr. Roe's head, I am informed the only genuine one is of the date 1790'. With regard to Plate 34, no. 1 [Rebello's 'Hackney Promissory Token'] Hay tells us 'This representation is

<sup>27</sup> His recognition of Spence's use of tokens for propaganda purposes is remarked on in R. H. Thompson, 'The Dies of Thomas Spence (1750–1814)', *BNJ*, Vol. 38 (1969), 152.

<sup>28</sup> The 'veiling' of names by the use of initials was a not uncharacteristic device of eighteenth-century caricaturists. An oak bookcase Hay left to his successor of Rochdale was inscribed, after his death, with a memorial plate recording it as a 'VICARAGE HEIRLOOM FROM THE REV. ROB. HAY': the Rev. Canon [F. R.] Raines, *The Vicars of Rochdale*, Chetham Society (Manchester 1883), new series, II, Part II, p. 313. See Robert Walmsley, *Peterloo: The Case Reopened* (Manchester 1969), pp. 372–75.

<sup>29</sup> For Hay's biographical details I have drawn upon Raines, as in n. 28, pp. 285–325.

<sup>30</sup> That the Buxton token was *stricto sensu* 'private' is questionable: Buxton, on the high road between Manchester and Derby, and being developed as a spa to rival Bath by the fifth duke of Devonshire, was a natural resort for the elite of Manchester: the token was probably intended as a memento for visitors to the shops, lodgings and hotels that comprised Buxton Crescent, at the time regarded in the north as a remarkable architectural achievement.

<sup>31</sup> S.H. Hamer, 'Notes on Some Interesting Token Books and their Original Owner', *NCirc.*, Vol. XI (1903), 127, columns 6048–56; Peter [Preston-] Morley, 'An Annotated Copy of *Virtuoso's Companion*', *The Token Corresponding Society Bulletin*, Vols. 1 (1971–73), 2 (1973–74), *passim*. I am indebted to Mr. Preston-Morley for a complete set of photocopies of his articles.

taken from a genuine one given to Mr. Pye by Mr. Rebello . . . . After his death [Rebello died in May 1796] a counterfeit was struck for which I gave 2s/- which see Denton. Plate 102, N<sup>o</sup> 408, and the obverse and reverse were struck on Penny Tokens and interchanged with others'. 'R.Y.', in the April 1797 issue of *The Gentleman's Magazine*, has this to say about the Rebello token: 'No sooner was the proprietor deceased, but a counterfeit token was struck from very inferior dies, and sold at 2s. each. Impressions were taken on penny pieces . . . and the dies were interchanged and crossed into others'.<sup>32</sup>

Such parallels, I recognise, by no means establish any positive correlation of identity between Hay and 'R.Y.' but one other entry in Hay's copy of 'Pye' deserves some attention in this excursus:

The principal die sinkers [of eighteenth-century tokens] were J Milton of the Tower, Boulton and Watt of Birmingham, Wyon of Birmingham, Hancock of the same place, under whom Jorden learnt the art, and Mainwaring. In September 1796, I learnt at Birmingham that Mainwaring was dead, one W. Lutwyche then living at the top of Temple St. had bought his dies. Hancock had given up the business, as had Jorden and who had gone into a Manufactory for Patent Window frames, and lived at N<sup>o</sup> 11 Great Charles St. Jorden told me Wyon had left off business, but I understood otherwise, and that he was executing dies for Kempson and Nevill . . . Mr. Cha<sup>s</sup> Pye the publisher of this book, and engraver, lived in the suburbs of Birmingham, at a place called Deritend.<sup>33</sup>

This gloss is important for its vignette of the Birmingham token industry in what were its terminal days; for our purpose, though, its significance lies in the reference to Hay's having been in the town in the September of 1796. Doubtless his visit was in connection with the manufacture of the Buxton token, but it is clear that he took the opportunity to find out all he could about token production more generally. He had met both Jorden and Lutwyche and put on record their addresses; in my view his mention of Pye's locale carries with it at least the hint that he had taken some trouble to seek out the engraver. Other comments, elsewhere in the book, such as 'Pye told me . . . ' suggests to me that at some time they did meet. My

feeling is that this meeting took place in September 1796 and that it is the self-same meeting which 'R.Y.' intimates took place between 21 August and 7 October of that year.

Hay was an avid collector with a wide range of like-minded correspondents and acquaintances: Birchall, Bisset, Pye, and Miss Banks who supplied him with pieces for his collection.<sup>34</sup> His copy of 'Denton' records the purchases he made of Henry Young and, according to Raines who came into possession of the manuscript catalogue of Hay's coins and medals, his '*spolia opima* were rare and genuine': after his death they sold for £200.<sup>35</sup> We do not know what happened to them or, after Raines's time, his manuscript catalogue. In 1903 Hamer had his copies of 'Birchall', the octavo 'Pye' and *The Virtuoso's Companion*; at the present time Mr R.H. Thompson owns Hay's *Virtuoso's Companion* while the 'Birchall' and 'Pye' have recently come into the possession of the writer.<sup>36</sup>

What clearly emerges from Hay's annotations of 'Denton' is his twofold detestation of Matthew Denton's sedulous foisting of mules on unsuspecting collectors and Thomas Spence's radical propagandising. Hay was sufficiently exercised to compose his own 'introduction' to his copy of *The Virtuoso's Companion*. He wrote *inter alia*:

Denton was an engraver & printer, but a man of no eminence in his art; and was intimate with all the inferior manufacturers and jobbers in provincial Tokens – indeed it is probable that the work was supported by them in order to induce hasty collectors to buy the trash they circulated. Thus we may account for many of the disgraceful dies here represented, as well as the infinite interchange and pirating of dies.

And later:

The publicatn. was principally supported by the Jobbers in Medals. All Spence's trash was introduced – and the interchange of dies, a mere jobbing trick, were [*sic*] here inserted in a way that no respectable author or tradesman would have ventured to have done.

These privately-confided anxieties are resonant of the more public disquiet expressed by 'R.Y.' as indeed are Hay's further comments about Spence:

<sup>32</sup> Hamer, as in n. 31, column 6054; *GM* 1796, Part II (September), 753; Hamer, as in n. 31, column 6056; *GM* 1797, Part I (April), 268. As the whereabouts of Hay's 'Birchall' and 'Pye' were unknown when this article was written I had to use Hamer's transcriptions but I now find that, in detail, these are not always strictly accurate.

<sup>33</sup> Hamer, as in n. 31, column 6053. William Mainwaring had died on 10 December 1794: *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 15 December 1794.

<sup>34</sup> Miss Banks mss., British Museum (Department of Coins

and Medals); Raines, as in n. 28, p. 314.

<sup>35</sup> Raines, as in n. 28, p. 314.

<sup>36</sup> Most of Hay's large collection of scrap- and commonplace-books, including his political ephemera, is (through Canon Raines) in Chetham's Library, Manchester, but it seems to contain no material relating to coins or tokens: information from Dr. M. D. Powell, Chetham's Librarian. The John Rylands Library also contains Hay mss., but I am not aware of their scope.

*ECCE HOMO.*

To the Immortal memory of the  
 Rev.<sup>d</sup> William H\*\*\* R\*\*\*\*\* of &c &c  
 Who, on the fatal, but ever memorable  
 16<sup>th</sup> of August, 1819,  
 was translated, from this Life to a better.

"The Ashes of the Just  
 Smell sweet, and blossom in the dust. !"

*Erratum.* for Life, read LIVING.

*Justitia scripsit.*

Fig. 1. The Reverend W.R. Hay (Detail from a political satire c. 1822<sup>37</sup>).

<sup>37</sup> From a lithograph in the British Museum (Department of Prints and Drawings: BMC 14363); reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the Museum.

[whose dies] he, as others did, interchanged to an indefinite extent . . . estimable as showing the industry of this Spence & those who led him on, in the cause of democracy, and as they may be explained by the circumstances of the day . . .

. . . [Dies] which tho not apparently mischievous in themselves, were capable of making a strong impression when mixed with others . . . [O]ne could scarcely conceive how industrious and ingenious these jacobins were, in the instance of medals, to poison the minds of the Community.<sup>38</sup>

Like 'R.Y.' Hay, too, had an unerring appreciation of the true intent and likely popular appeal of Spence's token production. He had, after all, an almost professional interest in the activities of political dissidents. He built up a large collection of seditious pamphlets, broadsides and notices, and his obviously extensive cabinet of political tokens equally reflected his recognition of the similar demagogic power of the latter's tone and symbolism.

In 1798 Hay had been ordained a priest, but about this time he became a magistrate and in 1802 he was appointed stipendiary chairman of the Salford Quarter Sessions. A high-Tory in politics, suspicious alike of democracy and dissent, he was always more the magistrate than the clergyman. Background, inclination and training made him so. Cultured and sociable he was; fervent beacon of a reviving Church he was not. His clerical labours, it has been said, were 'both tepid and marginal . . . he never discussed religious questions outside the pulpit'.<sup>39</sup> A pluralist, he was rector of Ackworth and a prebendary of York, and in 1820 he became vicar of Rochdale, a living worth £1,730 a year

and popularly thought to have been given him through government influence because of his part as a magistrate in the 'Peterloo Massacre' barely five months before.<sup>40</sup>

Certainly, it was as a justice of the peace that he was most diligent and vigorous – though there was never any suggestion of his being vindictive in his judgements – and, in a period of revolutionary turmoil, the Home Office records of the period are replete with his reports of radical disaffection in the industrial north. Vigilant but never alarmist, Hay was undoubtedly one of the most conscientious local links with Lord Sidmouth, the Home Secretary. As someone who was frequently in London it would have been very much in character for him, like 'R.Y.', to have visited Spence's shop to see what was going on in Little Turnstile.

Hay's obituarist described him as someone 'to be remembered by his friends with admiration and affection, and by his political enemies (for personal enemies he could have none) with feelings of great respect'.<sup>41</sup> But history has dealt otherwise with Hay. Brought in to advise the local committee of Manchester justices at the time of 'Peterloo' on account of his legal knowledge and standing 'Parson Hay', largely because of his swift clerical advancement to Rochdale, became the most maligned of the magistrates involved in that unhappy episode. And it is for the 'massacre' that he will always be remembered.<sup>42</sup>

Canon Raines tells us that Hay occasionally contributed articles to *The Gentleman's Magazine*. One of these he identified as a piece on the origin of the name of Manchester's 'New Bailey' prison. Not unnaturally in this instance Hay subscribed himself 'MANCUNIENSIS': if my hunch is right some, at least, of his other contributions were initialled 'R.Y.'.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>38</sup> Morley, as in n. 31, Part I, p. 4; Part XIII, p. 16; Part III, p. 46; Part V, p. 109.

<sup>39</sup> Donald Read, *Peterloo: The Massacre and its Background* (Manchester 1958), p. 76.

<sup>40</sup> This was officially denied in the House of Commons, but false or not it was a radical perception that Hay had to live with for the rest of his life. R. C. Bell, *Tradesmen's Tickets and Private Tokens 1785–1819*, p. 16, says that Hay owed his preferment to Canon Raines: this is not so; Raines was a curate of Hay and would have been fourteen at the time of 'Peterloo'.

<sup>41</sup> *GM* 1840, Part I (January), 96 [Obituary by the Rev. Richard Parkinson].

<sup>42</sup> Hay's role at 'Peterloo', if influential, was only advisory; he was not chairman of the special committee of magistrates as is frequently asserted, nor did he read the Riot Act or order it to be read as stated by S. H. Hamer, in his 'Notes on the Private Tokens, their Issuers and Die-sinkings', *BNJ*, Vol. I (1903/4), 324 and other accounts derived from Canon Raines (as in n. 28, p. 293).

<sup>43</sup> Raines, as in n. 28, p. 312; *GM* 1819, Part II (November), 386.

## BENEATH THE FLOORBOARDS: TWO WEST COUNTRY FINDS OF TOKENS

P. H. ROBINSON

### Blandford, Dorset (1997)

HOARDS of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century bronze coins are notably extremely uncommon. Those which consist of or include tokens from the series struck at the end of the eighteenth century or in the early nineteenth century have been conspicuous by their absence. This small group of eighteen coins – eight regal coins and ten tokens – was found beneath the floorboards of the upstairs room of a house in Blandford in 1997. All, apart from one penny and one penny token, are halfpennies. As with finds of eighteenth-century copper coins there are no farthings. There was no evidence of a container: the coins may have been concealed, perhaps by a child, either without a container, or perhaps in one made of fabric which has since deteriorated. The coins consist of:

#### Regal Coins

1.	George III	Third issue	halfpenny	1799
2.	George III	Fourth issue	penny	1806
3, 4.	George III	Fourth issue	halfpenny	1806 (2)
5–8.	George III	Fourth issue	halfpenny	1807 (4)

#### Tokens

9. Hampshire, Emsworth. Halfpenny 1795 D&H 29f. Diam. 26.6mm
10. Hampshire, Portsea, Edward Sargeants. Halfpenny 1794 D&H 71. Diam. 28.8mm
11. Lancashire, Liverpool. Halfpenny 1791 D&H 79c. Diam. 30.7mm
12. Middlesex, Lackington's series. Halfpenny 1795 D&H 357a. Diam. 28.5mm
13. Middlesex, Lyceum. Halfpenny undated. D&H 362a. Diam. 28.1mm
14. Middlesex, 'Miscellaneous series'. Halfpenny undated. D&H 924. Diam. 28.8mm
15. Somerset, Bath. Halfpenny 1790 D&H 38 Diam. 27mm
16. Somerset, Bath. F. Heath. Halfpenny 1795. D&H 40 with large flan. Diam. 31.1mm
17. Warwickshire, Birmingham. Halfpenny 1793. D&H 50. Diam. 28.7mm
18. Wales, Anglesey, Parys Mine Company. Penny 1788. D&H uncertain Diam. 34.1mm

The tokens consist firstly of local issues from Hampshire and Somerset that are found in circulation throughout the West Country. The absence of tokens from Dorset itself or from Devon or Wiltshire is not surprising in a sample as small as this. The remaining tokens are either from London or from the north-west. The presence of London tokens may be due to the importance of Blandford on the coach route from the city to the south-west of England, while those from Birmingham, Liverpool and Anglesey may reflect the very large numbers of tokens struck at

these places. Certainly tokens of these places do occur elsewhere as individual finds in the West Country.

All the coins show some wear, in particular the 1807 regal halfpennies, suggesting that the date of deposition need not be either in or soon after that year. The next issue of regal pennies and halfpennies was in 1826, which provides the *terminus ante quem* date for this part of the find. For the tokens, the absence of nineteenth-century tokens which were struck from 1811 is not helpful. In the West Country they were only issued in any numbers in Bath and Bristol, while none were struck in Dorset. Tokens of this series are also rare as finds in the region. There is then no safe *terminus ante quem* date for the concealment of the coins.

The Blandford find suggests that eighteenth-century tokens continued to circulate in parts at least of England well after 1797. This is shown also in the west Midlands by the issue of tokens by William Horton in Stafford in 1801 and 1803 which, from the writer's observations, are regularly found in worn condition and must have circulated freely in the first decade of the nineteenth century and perhaps later.

### Devizes, Wiltshire (1975)

The thirteen lead tokens listed below were found together beneath a floorboard in the attic of 2 The Brittox, Devizes and were subsequently presented to Devizes Museum (accession number 1976.81). At the present day, the Brittox is the principal shopping street in Devizes, but in Georgian times it was perhaps second in importance in this respect to the Market Square. The tokens, which include a number of mould-duplicates are as follows:



- |     |             |   |
|-----|-------------|---|
| 1–4 | <i>obv</i>  | profile male head to right  |
|     | <i>rev</i>  | <u>IM</u>   |
|     | <i>diam</i> | 24mm  |
| 5–7 | <i>obv</i>  | profile male bust to right, similar to 1–4  |
|     | <i>rev</i>  | <u>IM</u>   |
|     | <i>diam</i> | 24mm  |
| 8   | <i>obv</i>  | profile male bust to right, similar to 1–7  |
|     | <i>rev</i>  | I · M over   |
|     | <i>diam</i> | 24mm  |
| 9   | <i>obv</i>  | wheel (?) design – central pellet in small circle with eight lines radiating from the circle to the edge; a pellet in each space (cf. Evesham hoard 19)                       |
|     | <i>rev</i>  | shield with  in upper register   |
|     | <i>diam</i> | 21mm  |
| 10  | <i>obv</i>  | six spoke 'wheel' design  |
|     | <i>rev</i>  | eight spoke 'wheel' design  |
|     | <i>diam</i> | 21mm  |
| 11  | <i>obv</i>  | birds in a tree (?) design – a vertical line terminating in a pellet, with parallel horizontal lines spreading from each side. Pellets are irregularly placed among the lines |





Fig. 1. Tokens from the Devizes hoard.

		•   ○
rev	W or M	○   •
diam	19mm	
12	obv	stranded cross
	rev	uncertain design
	diam	16mm
13	obv	schematised animal within a border of spaced lines
	rev	blank
	diam	17mm

The particular interest of this find lies in the presence of duplicate tokens from the same mould (as with the lead token hoards from Evesham and Coombe, Oxfordshire)<sup>1</sup> and tokens with the same design from different pairs of moulds (as again in the Coombe, Oxfordshire, find). The IM tokens could be from a multiple token mould as that from Brinsworth, now in Sheffield Museum. Token

no. 8 may show a blundered, reverse date on the reverse side, probably to be reconstructed as 1777 rather than 1747 but this is far from certain.

The bloom still visible on several of the IM tokens as well as upon some others in the group suggests that they have seen little if any use. The inference is that they were made in Devizes, possibly in the building in which they were found. The occupant of 2 The Brittox in around 1787 was John Mayo, a linen draper (Devizes Borough Lease Book), who had possibly moved there only a short time previously as his trade address in 1783 is given as the Market Square in *Bailey's Western and Midlands Directory*. He is most likely to have been the issuer of the IM tokens. There were, however, other tradesmen with the same initials in Devizes at this time – his brother John Mayo, who was a mercer and draper, and James Maynard, an apothecary who died in 1786. Either of these might have been the issuer of the tokens, so the identification is, strictly speaking, not absolutely certain.

<sup>1</sup> Marion M. Archibald, 'A Hoard of Lead Tokens from Evesham', *CH* 5 (1979), 114–116, no. 306.

## COIN REGISTER 1997

IN recent times we have all been made increasingly aware of the significance of single coin finds, partly because such finds are relevant to the solution of historical problems such as the regional pattern of coin circulation, and partly because of the number of rare types or completely new varieties which come to light in this way. It is desirable that single finds should be recorded promptly, accurately and in an organised manner.

The Coin Register is an annual listing, to which anyone having single finds to report from Britain or Ireland may contribute. Any Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, Norman or Plantagenet coin will be eligible down to and including the 'Tealby' type of Henry II, but entries for Roman coins and for later medieval and modern coins will be restricted to those coins which are of particular numismatic merit. The essential criterion for inclusion will be that the coin is new, by virtue of either being newly found or (if previously discovered) being hitherto unpublished. Single finds from excavation sites may be included, if it seems likely that there would otherwise be considerable delay in publication.

The listing of Celtic coins in the Coin Register is carried out in association with the Celtic Coin Index at the Institute of Archaeology, Oxford. Celtic material should therefore be sent in the first instance to Cathy King, c/o the Institute of Archaeology, 36 Beaumont Street, Oxford OX1 2PG. Other material should be sent to: E.M. Besly, Department of Archaeology & Numismatics, National Museum & Gallery Cardiff, Cathays Park, Cardiff CF1 3NP. Potential contributors should contact either of the editors of *BNJ* with any queries about how to submit and set out material.

E.M.B. and N.M.McQ.H.

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### *Abbreviations*

BM	British Museum
CCI	Celtic Coin Index
M/d	Metal-detector
SMR	Sites and Monuments Record

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*Celtic coins*

**Note:** As in 1995 and 1996, large numbers of Celtic coins were again reported during 1997. The list that follows is therefore selective, concentrating on the publication and discussion of rare and new types.

1. British, stater, class E, VA 1462-1 var. (CCI 97.1091).

Weight: 6.26g.

Copford, near, Essex. M/d find.

This coin shares its obverse die with the British E stater published in Coin Register 1996, *BNJ* 66, no. 17. The reverse, though from a different die, again lacks the two rings below the horse.

M.J.C./P. de J.

2. British, stater, class E, VA 1462-1 (CCI 97.0134)

Weight: 6.34g.

Hatfield Broad Oak, Essex. M/d find, 1996.

From the same obverse die as the original Waldingfield stater. These two coins bring the total known to four.

C.R./P. de J.

3. British, stater, class F, VA 1458-3, *BMCIA* 141 (CCI 97.0003).

Weight: 6.32g.

West Rudham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1996.

J.A.D.

4. British, plated stater, class MA, VA 1520-1, *BMCIA* 357 (CCI 97.1372).

Weight: 4.82g.

Tangmere, West Sussex. M/d find, 1997.

Plating intact on reverse, approximately half present on obverse.

M.J.C./P. de J.

5. British, stater, class NA, VA 620-4, *BMCIA* 3385 (CCI 97.1669).

Weight: 5.25g.

Besthorpe, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D.

6. British, stater, class QA, VA 210-1 var., cf. *BMCIA* 476 (CCI 97.0036).

Weight: 4.93g.

Winchester, near, Hampshire. M/d find, 1996-97.

A variant on the usual Atrebatian stater which in some respects displays stylistic elements more commonly found on north Thames coinage, in particular the form of the horse.

C.R./P. de J.

7. British, quarter stater, class LXI, VA 1688-1, *BMCIA* 1651 (CCI 97.2095).

Rev. [TA]SCIA[V?]

Weight: 1.36g.

Chelmsford, near, Essex. M/d find, 1997.

The reverse is struck off-centre, thus revealing for

the first time the legend above the horse, and confirming the traditional attribution to Tasciovanus.

M.J.C.

8. British, quarter stater, class LX4, VA 234-1, *BMCIA* 365 (CCI 97.1990).

Weight: 1.2g.

St Neots, near, Cambridgeshire. M/d find, 1996.

Although attributed to the Atrebatians by Van Arsdell, all the provenanced examples in the Celtic Coin Index come from the north Thames region. The style of the horse, and in particular its ears, and the groove running up in front of the chest to the junction of head and neck, are also strongly reminiscent of other north Thames coinages.

P. de J./D.J.H.

9. British, quarter stater, new type (CCI 97.2332).

Obv. central cross in ring, from which project four spokes each ending in a pellet in ring; in each quarter thus formed, a teardrop motif with a crossbar at the top (outer) edge; between each teardrop and spoke, a pellet. Pellet border around the whole.

Rev. horse r., 'open' head similar in style to Icenian boar/horse silver units; numerous short strokes for mane, similar strokes on tail; pellet below tail, pellet in ring below horse; various uncertain arcs around the design.

Weight: 1.04g.

Fincham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.

One previous example is recorded in the Celtic Coin Index, from a near identical obverse but with a different style of horse on the reverse; it was found at Gisleham in Suffolk, and published in Coin Register 1991, *BNJ* 61, no. 70. The reverse clearly indicates some familiarity with the mainstream Icenian coinage, but the geometric design on the obverse bears little resemblance to traditional Icenian styles.

J.A.D./P. de J.

10. British, silver unit, class LX19, VA 1611-1, *BMCIA* 388 (CCI 97.1938).

Weight: 0.9g.

Minster in Thanet, Kent. M/d find, 1996.

One of two examples recorded from Kent in 1997, bringing the total known to five. The attribution of this type remains very unclear.

D.J.H./P. de J.

11. 'Cantii', stater of Dubnovellaunus, VA 169-1, *BMCIA* 2492 (CCI 97.1920).

Rev. DVBNVALLAVNOS

Weight: 5.5g.

Kent.

Nine unprovenanced examples of this type were recorded in the Celtic Coin Index during 1996-1997, doubling the previously known number. The evidence suggests that a hoard of this type was found in Kent, probably in 1995 or 1996, at a location as yet unknown.

P. de J./D.J.H.



12. 'Cantii', stater of Dubnovellaunus, VA 169-1, *BMCIA* 2492 (CCI 97.1695).

Rev. [DVBNOVALL]AVNOS

Weight: 5.5g.

Sutton, Kent. M/d find by Mrs D. A. Ediger, donated to Dover Museum.

D.J.H./P. de J.

13. 'Cantii', silver unit, new type (CCI 97.0142).

Obv. head r., large ear, four pellet in ring motifs at back of head and a torc around the neck.

Rev. Pegasus r., pellet in ring to left and right of wing and below the horse.

Weight: 1.04g.

Rochester, near, Kent. M/d find.

One of four examples recorded in the Celtic Coin Index during 1997, bringing the total known to seven. The obverse is closely related to the Kentish uninscribed bronze type VA 154-9 (*BMCIA* 2488), and indeed may be the same hand (compare for example the bronze unit illustrated by Chris Rudd, 1997 list 26, no. 13).

P. de J.

14. 'Atrebatas', silver minim, new type of ?Caratacus (CCI 97.1832).

Obv. CAR in plain border.

Rev. eagle facing, head turned to its left, triangle of pellets to its left.

Weight: 0.22g.

North Oxfordshire. M/d find, 1997.

A previously unrecorded type, presumably of Caratacus.

P. de J./C.R.

15. Silver unit, new type, possibly of 'Atrebatas' (CCI 97.0038).

Obv. head l., large curl of hair curves up in front of forehead, large pellet in front of prominent lips.

Rev. horse stepping r., left foreleg raised, both forelegs bifurcated above the knee. Pellet in ring below horse, sunburst (*BMCIA* flower j) above.

Weight: 1.14g.

Great Offley, Hertfordshire. M/d find, 1997.

The provenance is difficult to reconcile with the style of the coin, which seems to have more in common with south Thames issues – notably the presence of the flower above the horse, recalling the Atrebatian uninscribed quarter staters (British QC). In fact a fragmentary example from the same reverse die was also recorded in 1997, from Slindon in West Sussex, and on balance the evidence points to a southern origin.

P. de J./C.R.

16. 'Trinovantes', quarter stater of Addeddomaros, VA 1638-1 var., *BMCIA* 2424 (CCI 97.1835).

Rev. [ADDEDOMAR]OS

Weight: 1.4g.

Stock, near, Essex. M/d find at Essex Detector Society Rally, 1997.

Variant with wheel beneath the horse, rather than

box. There are six examples of each in the Celtic Coin Index.

P. de J.

17. 'Trinovantes', silver unit of Dubnovellaunus, VA 1663-1 (CCI 97.1865).

Rev. [DVBNO]VALLAVN[OS]

Weight: 1.2g.

Braughing, Hertfordshire. M/d find, 1990s.

D.J.H./P. de J.

18. 'Trinovantes', bronze unit of Dubnovellaunus, VA 1667-1, *BMCIA* 2445 (CCI 97.1906).

Obv. [DVB]NOVILL

Rev. DVB

Weight: 2.35g.

Whitfield, near, Kent. M/d find.

The type is mistakenly listed by *BMCIA* (2445) as silver. The reading of the reverse legend is not certain; interpretation of the obverse legend is confirmed by the best preserved example amongst the seven known, from Saham Toney in Norfolk.

P. de J./D.J.H.

19. Bronze unit, new type, perhaps of 'Trinovantes' (CCI 97.1099).

Obv. ?horse l., head turned back clutching its tail in its mouth; large pellet in ring below.

Rev. horse r., large pellet in ring below; 'waterspout' motif above, other pellets around.

Weight not known.

Heybridge, Essex. Found at Elms Farm excavation, 1997.

One of two examples from the Elms Farm site; the type is also recorded from Braughing in Hertfordshire, and near Scunthorpe, Lincolnshire. It seems to belong to a fairly extensive group of early bronze coins from the north Thames region, also including the Evans G12 type, which all bear some stylistic resemblance to Belgic types.

M.J.C./P. de J.

20. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Andoco, VA 1868-1, *BMCIA* 2018 (CCI 97.1867).

Obv. A

Rev. ANDOCO

Weight: 0.9g.

Braughing, Hertfordshire. M/d find, 1990s.

D.J.H.

21. 'Catuvellauni', bronze unit of Andoco, VA 1871-1, *BMCIA* 2019 (CCI 97.1868).

Obv. ANDOCO

Rev. ANDOCO

Weight: 2.0g.

Braughing, Hertfordshire. M/d find, 1990s.

D.J.H.

22. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Cunobelin, VA 1918-1 (CCI 97.2327).

Obv. CAMVL

Rev. CVNO

Weight not known.

Barking, Suffolk. M/d find, 1997.

The fifth example of this type recorded in the Celtic Coin Index, and the only provenance in addition to that of the first example, found at Colchester in 1936. It is certainly a silver unit (as listed by Mack), not a quarter stater (as indicated by Van Arsdell and Allen); the source of this mistake is unclear, but it appears to have been simply a misidentification by Allen. Allen did note that the type had more in common with the silver and bronze coinage (*Britannia* 6 (1975), p. 2).

P. de J./J.N.

23. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Cunobelin, VA 2051-1, *BMCIA* 1868 (CCI 97.2109).

Obv. CVNO

Rev. CAMV

Weight: 1.0g.

Fingringhoe, Essex. M/d find by Mr. C. Behn, 1996.

P. de J.

24. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit of Cunobelin, new type (CCI 97.2107).

Obv. CAMVL in central panel with incurved short edges; pellet border.

Rev. seated figure 1., holding amphora; around, [C]VNOBE

Weight: 1.20g.

Fingringhoe, Essex. M/d find by Mr. C. Behn, 1996.

P. de J.

25. 'Catuvellauni', silver unit, *BMCIA* 1899 (CCI 97.1258).

Obv. AGR

Rev. AGR

Weight: 1.27g.

Great Burstead, Essex.

The attribution of this type remains uncertain. It may perhaps belong to the short period between Cunobelin's death and the conquest of AD 43.

P. de J.

26. 'Iceni', silver half-unit, *BMCIA* 3256 (CCI 97.1219).

Weight: 0.57g.

Cottenham, Cambridgeshire. M/d find.

P. de J.

27. 'Corieltavi', plated stater, class M, VA 825, cf. *BMCIA* 3181 (CCI 97.2335).

Weight: 4.76g.

Cleeve Prior, Worcestershire. M/d find by Mr. L. Philips, 1997.

The coin appears to be silver-plated.

P.J.W.

28. 'Corieltavi', scyphate quarter stater, cf. *BMCIA* 3189 (CCI 97.1349).

Weight: 1.3g.

Ulceby Cross, Lincolnshire. M/d find.

P. de J.

29. 'Corieltavi', scyphate quarter stater, cf. *BMCIA* 3192 (CCI 97.1350).

Weight: 1.4g.

Market Rasen, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find.

The large 'S' on the reverse is here reversed, unlike the seven examples in the British Museum; a similar reverse was published by J. May, 'The earliest gold coinages of the Corieltavi?' in M. Mays (ed.), *Celtic Coinage: Britain and beyond* (Oxford, 1992), p. 117, no. 1589.

P. de J.

30. 'Corieltavi', scyphate quarter stater, cf. *BMCIA* 3193 (CCI 97.1351).

Weight: 1.4g.

Kirmington, Lincolnshire. M/d find.

P. de J.

31. 'Corieltavi', silver unit, class F, cf. VA 855-5, cf. *BMCIA* 3204 (CCI 97.1342).

Weight: 1.3g.

Caistor, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find by Mr. M. O'Bee.

P. de J.

32. 'Corieltavi', silver unit, class I, VA 864-1, *BMCIA* 3213 (CCI 97.1313).

Weight: 1.5g.

Kirmington, Lincolnshire. M/d find.

P. de J.

33. 'Corieltavi', plated stater of VEP, VA 905-1, *BMCIA* 3276 (CCI 97.2336).

Rev. VEP

Weight: 5.30g.

North Warwickshire. M/d find by Mr. M. Miles, 1995.

Only the eighth VEP stater recorded in the Celtic Coin Index, and the fifth plated.

P.J.W./P. de J.

34. 'Durotriges', silver half-unit, cf. *BMCIA* 2784 (CCI 97.1231).

Weight: 0.35g.

Shapwick, Dorset.

Probably a half-unit from the series traditionally known as the Hampshire thin silver type, the attribution of this group remains uncertain, but a number of recent discoveries from Chichester suggest that its origins lie to the east of the Durotriges, perhaps in the hinterland of the Solent.

P. de J.

#### Greek coins

35. Pisidia, Selge, bronze, 3rd-2nd centuries BC, cf. *BMC* 43.

Obv. head of Herakles, left.

Rev. stag, right; SE Λ, above and below.

Weight: 1.97g.

Pakefield, Suffolk. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D./A.M.

36. Mysia, Pergamum, bronze, 2nd century AD, *BMC* 221.  
*Obv.* head, right; ΘΕΟΝ ΣΥΝ - ΚΑΗΤΟΝ  
*Rev.* head, right; ΘΕΑΝ (monogram) - [ ]  
 Weight: 3.12g.  
 Pakefield, Suffolk. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D./A.M.

*Roman coins*

37. Nero (54–68), gold aureus, *RIC* 59.  
 Weight: 7.30g. Die-axis: 180°.  
 'Cornwall'. M/d find, 1997.

Said to be a single find from a site producing other unspecified Roman coins in Cornwall.

M.J.C.

38. Nero, as, Lyon *RIC* 543, with countermark 'PR'.  
 Weight: 11.1g. Die-axis: 180°.  
 'Cambridgeshire'. M/d find, 1997.

M.J.C.

39. 'Domitian', plated denarius, copy of *RIC* 208.  
*Obv.* illegible  
*Rev.* Octastyle temple, traces of lettering in field left  
 Weight: 1.16g, fragment.  
 Wappenbury, Warwicks. M/d find, January 1998.

Although the obverse is completely lost, octastyle temples are sufficiently rare on Roman coins to make the identification reasonably sure.

D.J.S./A.B.

40. Carausius (286/7–93), silver denarius, *RSR*, *RIC* 571.  
*Rev.* [REN]OVAT RVMANO (*sic*)  
 Weight: 4.04g. Die-axis: 180°.  
 Chelmsford, near, Essex, 1997.

*RIC* 571 notes the variant spelling of 'Romano', but there is no specimen in Shiel.

M.J.C.

*Merovingian Coins*

41. Silver denier, Jublains (cant. Bais, Mayenne), moneyer Dunbertus, Belfort 1736–7 var., late 7th/early 8th cent.  
*Obv.* + DIA[B?] JVI (A unbarred), quadruped right looking backwards, two pellets in field.  
*Rev.* DVNBERTVS, cross-on-steps, pellets in angles.  
 Weight: 1.17g (18.1gr). Die-axis: 0°.  
 Suffolk. M/d find 1997. Information courtesy of Dr and Mrs Marcus Phillips. Acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.2553-1997).

A related coin was found in the Plassac hoard (dep. c. 705).

MA.S.B.

*Sceattas*

42. Sceat, Series PaIII, *BMC* 3, North 153, Pada, imitative?  
 Weight: 1.0g (15.4gr), holed.  
 Southfleet, near, Kent. M/d find by Mr C. Turner, April 1997.

D.J.H.

43. Sceat, Series B.  
 Weight: 0.76g (11.7gr), large fragment.  
 Langford, Maldon, Essex. M/d find by Mr D. Marvin, 1997.  
 (Illustration 2:1.)

M.J.C.

44. Sceat, Series Bx.  
 Weight: 1.23g (18.9gr).  
 'Kent'. M/d find, 1997.

M.J.C.

45. Sceat, Series C, *BMC* 2b, moneyer Epa.  
 Weight: 0.91g (14.0gr).  
 Rocklands, Norfolk. M/d find, May 1997.

J.A.D.

46. Sceat, Series C, *BMC* 2b, moneyer Epa.  
 Weight: 0.82g (12.6gr).  
 Tibenham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D.

47. Sceat, Series C, imitation.  
 Weight: 1.20g (18.5gr).  
 Narford, Norfolk. M/d find, December 1996.

J.A.D.

48. Sceat, Series C, imitation.  
 Weight: 1.1g (17.0gr).  
 Brook, Kent. M/d find by Mr D. Ritchie, December 1996.  
 D.J.H.

49. See no. 61.

50. Sceat, series D, 'Continental runic' type, *BMC* 2.  
 Weight: 1.24g (19.1gr).  
 Narford, Norfolk. M/d find, December 1996.

J.A.D.

51. Sceat, Series D, *BMC* 2c, Frisian.  
 Weight: 1.13g (17.4gr).  
 Covehithe, Suffolk. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D.

52. Sceat, Series D, *BMC* 2c.  
 Weight: 1.2g (18.5gr).  
 Thurnham, Kent. M/d find by Mr N. Hampshire, September 1996.

D.J.H.

53. Sceat, Series D, *BMC* 2c.  
 Weight: not recorded.  
 Tutbury, near, Staffordshire. M/d find, by A. Wall, October 1997.  
 (Not illustrated.)

E.W.D.

54. Sceat, Series D, *BMC* 8, Frisian.  
 Weight: 1.16g (17.9gr).  
 Leaden Roding, Essex, 1997.

M.J.C.

55. Sceat, Series E, *BMC* 4, Metcalf var. A.  
Weight: 0.77g (11.8gr), incomplete.  
Fransham, Norfolk, site 29217. M/d find, March 1997.  
J.A.D.
56. Sceat, Series E, *BMC* 4, Metcalf var. G.  
Weight: 1.20g (18.5gr).  
Kelling, Norfolk. M/d find, May 1997.  
J.A.D.
57. Sceat, Series E, *BMC* 4, Metcalf var. G.  
Weight: 1.01g (15.6gr).  
Kelling, Norfolk. M/d find, April 1997.  
J.A.D.
58. Sceat, Series E, *BMC* 4.  
Weight: 0.99g (15.3gr).  
Bawsey, Norfolk, site 25962. M/d find, November 1996.  
J.A.D.
59. Sceat, Series E, *BMC* 4, Metcalf var. G.  
Weight: 1.19g (18.4gr).  
Narford, Norfolk. M/d find, December 1996.  
J.A.D.
60. Sceat, Series E, *BMC* 4, North 155, Ethilraed.  
Weight: 1.23g (18.9gr).  
Tibenham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.  
J.A.D.
61. Sceat, Series E, *BMC* 4, North 155, Ethilraed.  
Weight: 1.09g (16.8gr).  
Tuddenham, Suffolk. M/d find, December 1996.  
J.A.D./S.M./M.J.C.
62. Sceat, Series E, Aston Rowant variety, VICO.  
Weight: 1.10g (17.0gr).  
Kilham, East Riding of Yorkshire. M/d find by S. Reynolds, before February 1997.  
C.P.B.
63. Sceat, Series E, Aston Rowant variety, VICO derivative.  
Not weighed.  
Kilham, East Riding of Yorkshire. M/d find by S. Hoggarth, before June 1997.  
C.P.B.
64. Sceat, Series E, Hallum variety.  
Weight: 1.10g (17.0gr).  
Kilham, East Riding of Yorkshire. M/d find by S. Reynolds, before February 1997.  
C.P.B.
65. Sceat, Series E, variety J.  
Weight: 1.15g (17.7gr).  
'Kent'. M/d find, 1997.  
M.J.C.
66. Sceat, Series E, possibly Kloster Barthe phase.  
Weight: 1.21g (18.6gr).  
'South Lincs.' site 1. M/d find, spring 1997.
- For further finds from this site see M.J. Bonser, 'Fifteen years of coin finds from productive sites', *The Yorkshire Numismatist* 3 (1997), at p. 41.  
A.I.J.A.
67. Sceat, Series E, porcupine.  
Weight: 0.96g (14.8gr).  
Tivetshall St Mary, Norfolk. M/d find, November 1997.  
J.A.D.
68. Sceat, Series E, later porcupine.  
Weight: 1.02g (15.7gr).  
East Rudham, Norfolk. M/d find, October 1997.  
J.A.D.
69. Sceat, Series E, later porcupine.  
Weight: 0.71g (11.0gr).  
Grimsby, near, Humberside. M/d find by Mrs A. Wright, 1997.  
E.W.D.
70. Sceat, Series E, VICO, variety 2, type 4, North 45.  
Weight: not recorded.  
Tuddenham St Mary, Suffolk (site recorded on Suffolk SMR). M/d find by T. Hensby, November 1997. Photo 110% of scale.  
S.M./J.N.
71. No coin.
72. Sceat, Series E, SEDE variety, type 89 (formerly 4 var), North 47.  
*Obv.* development of the 'porcupine' design, in which the body of the porcupine curls into a nearly full circle around the middle of the coin, with a mouth at one end and a pellet between its jaws. A cross pommée within the circle and 'porcupine quills' without.  
*Rev.* +SIEDIE arranged cruciform around a central cross, with four crosses between letters; pelleted inner circle, zigzag design in outer border.  
Weight: 1.07g (16.5gr).  
Mid-Hampshire, north of Winchester and south of Basingstoke. M/d find, 1997.  
Information Paul Murawski. It appeared in his catalogue, *Valued History*, Dec. 1997, no. 45.  
This is the third coin of this type to be discovered, the others are illustrated in *T&S*, p. 246 (and no. 263), and p. 682. They are all from different dies, and seem to form two distinct groups. This new find and the coin at *T&S* p. 682 are fairly similar, but the coin at *T&S* p. 246 has a left-facing 'porcupine' on the obverse, pellets-within-annulets instead of crosses between letters on the reverse, and traces of a blundered legend in the outer border of the reverse. The legend 'SEDE' has long aroused confusion, but it may well come from *sedes*, used in Anglo-Latin for 'episcopal see', in which case the coin would be an ecclesiastical issue. This idea will be developed further elsewhere.  
M.A.S.B./S.M.

73. Sceat, Series F, North 62, *BMC* 24b  
Weight: not known.  
Newton Flotman, Norfolk, site 31048. M/d find, 1996.  
J.A.D.
74. Sceat, Series J, *BMC* 36, North 134.  
Weight: 1.04g (16.0gr).  
Brough, Nottinghamshire, SK843585. M/d find by S. Cartlidge, April 1996.  
E.W.D.
75. Sceat, Series K, *BMC* 32a, style C-D, East Kent type.  
Weight: 1.16g (17.9gr).  
Congham, Norfolk, site 3565. M/d find, June 1997.  
J.A.D.
76. Sceat, Series L, *BMC* 15a.  
Weight: 0.95g (14.6gr).  
Braughing, Herts. M/d find.  
D.J.H.
77. Sceat, Series Q, *BMC* -.  
Weight: 0.83g (12.8gr).  
Kilham, East Riding of Yorkshire. M/d find by S. Reynolds, before July 1997.  
C.P.B.
78. Sceat, Series R.  
Weight: 0.86g (13.2gr).  
Whissonsett, Norfolk. M/d find, April 1997.  
J.A.D.
79. Sceat, 'London copy', Series U, cf. *BMC* 23c.  
Weight: 1.06g (16.3gr).  
Kilham, East Riding of Yorkshire. M/d find by S. Reynolds, before March 1997.  
C.P.B.
80. Sceat, Series X, *BMC* 30.  
Weight: 1.16g (17.9gr).  
Langford, Maldon, Essex. M/d find by Mr D. Marvin, 1997.  
(Illustration 2: 1.)  
M.J.C.
81. Sceat, Series X, *BMC* 31, base metal.  
Weight: 0.82g (12.6gr).  
Kilham, East Riding of Yorkshire. M/d find by S. Reynolds, before March 1997.  
C.P.B.
82. Sceat, eclectic, possibly related to Series K, Q (and Y?) wolf head/fantastic beast.  
*Obv.* wolf head right with long tongue curling below and ear above, prominent mane in four lines behind head; serrated border; similar to Series K, type 33.  
*Rev.* fledgeling-like beast, open-beaked, with long claws, running right; tail (or tongue rising behind and from below) knotted above in a triquetra (half-hitch) with triple-forked end; pellet border with vestigial outer border visible above; similar in concept to Series Q, linear type, but differs in execution.  
Weight: 1.1g (17.0gr). Die-axis: 180°.  
'Near Malton', Yorkshire, site 1. M/d find, March 1997.  
Metcalf suggests that Series Q commenced with eclectic types of which this may be one more, though the monster with a knotted, triple-forked tail seems pure invention unless copied from some artefact other than a coin. For further finds from this site see *BNJ* 56 (1986), p. 91 nos 117 and 118, and more comprehensively M.J. Bonser, 'Fifteen years of coin finds from productive sites', *The Yorkshire Numismatist* 3 (1997), at p. 42.  
A.I.J.A.
83. Sceat, 'Moneta Sanctorum' type.  
*Obv.* MONITASCORVM+, diademed bust right  
*Rev.* 'Porcupine' bust in circle of pellets, off-flan  
Weight: 1.10g (16.9gr).  
Farnborough, Kent. Found by Mr Payne near Saxon church, 1997.  
G.W.
84. Sceat, Northumbria, Eadberht, Group Ai.  
Weight: 1.00g (15.4gr).  
Kilham, East Riding of Yorkshire. M/d find by S. Reynolds, before November 1997.  
C.P.B.
85. Sceat, Northumbria, Eadberht, Group Bii.  
Weight: 0.92g (14.2gr).  
Kilham, East Riding of Yorkshire. M/d find by S. Reynolds, before November 1997.  
C.P.B.
- Stycas*
86. Northumbria, Æthelred I, base silver stycas; Phase 1a, moneyer Tidulf.  
Weight: 0.93g (14.3gr).  
Hutton Rudby, North Yorkshire. Found by K. Simmons, August 1997.  
C.P.B.
87. Northumbria, Eanbald II, base silver stycas; Phase 1a, moneyer Edilueard.  
Weight: 1.06g (16.3gr).  
Sherburn-in-Elmet, North Yorkshire. Casual find by D. Booth, before September 1997.  
(Not illustrated.)  
C.P.B.
88. Northumbria, Eanred, base stycas; Phase II, group Cii, moneyer Fordred.  
Weight: 1.04g (16.0gr).  
Kilham, East Riding of Yorkshire. M/d find by S. Reynolds, before September 1997.  
C.P.B.



89. Northumbria, Eanred, base styca; Phase II, group Ciii, moneyer Monne; die-duplicate of CKN 1618.  
Weight: 0.86g (13.2gr).  
Sherburn, North Yorkshire. M/d find by N. Hopper, October 1997.

C.P.B.

90. Northumbria, Æthelred II, first reign, base styca; irregular, Phase II, group Ci, moneyer Eardulf.  
Weight: 1.09g (16.8gr).  
Kilham, East Riding of Yorkshire. M/d find by S. Reynolds, before February 1997.

C.P.B.

91. Northumbria, Æthelred II, first reign, base styca; irregular, Phase II, group Ci, moneyer Brother.  
Weight: 0.90g (13.9gr).  
Kilham, East Riding of Yorkshire. M/d find by D. Kettlewell, January 1997.  
(Not illustrated.)

C.P.B.

92. Northumbria, Æthelred II, first/second reign, base styca; Phase II, group Ci, moneyer Hunlaf.  
Not weighed.  
Staxton, North Yorkshire. M/d find by D. Kettlewell, January 1997.  
(Not illustrated.)

C.P.B.

93. Northumbria, Æthelred II, second reign, base styca; Phase II, group Cii, moneyer Eanred; die-duplicate of CKN 1542.  
Weight: 0.91g (14.0gr).  
Bielby, East Riding of Yorkshire. M/d find by S. Hodgson, February 1997.

C.P.B.

94. Northumbria, Æthelred II, second reign, base styca; Phase II, group Ci, moneyer Monne; die-duplicate of CKN 1167.  
Not weighed.  
Staxton, North Yorkshire. M/d find by D. Kettlewell, January 1997.  
(Not illustrated.)

C.P.B.

95. Northumbria, time of Æthelred II, base styca; Phase II, group Dii, moneyer Eardulf; die-duplicate of CKN 1944.  
Not weighed.  
Fridaythorpe, East Riding of Yorkshire. M/d find by T. Silversides before June 1997.

C.P.B.

96. Northumbria, time of Æthelred II, base styca; irregular, pairing two obverse dies; Phase II, group Dii/Phase II, group Di.  
Weight: 0.58g (8.9gr).  
Ryther, North Yorkshire. M/d find by S. Pickles, February 1997.

C.P.B.

97. Northumbria, Archbishop Ulfhere, base styca; irregular, Phase II, group Ci, moneyer Uulfred.  
Weight: 1.16g (17.9gr).  
Kilham, East Riding of Yorkshire. M/d find by S. Reynolds, before February 1997.

C.P.B.

98. Northumbria, base styca, irregular, uncertain legends.  
Weight: 1.28g (19.8gr).  
Grimsby, near, Humberside. M/d find by D.A. Wright, 1996.

A second probable styca, completely featureless, was found on a separate occasion some way away in the same field.

(Not illustrated.)

E.W.D.

*Carolingian coins*

99. Charlemagne, denier, class 3, c. 793/4–812, Mainz, M&G 92, MEC 1, 741.  
Obv. +CARL(part of V) [ ] RF; Karolus monogram.  
Rev. [ ] (part of G)ONTIA; cross.  
Weight: 0.97g (14.9gr), incomplete. Die-axis: 105°.  
Wymondham, Norfolk, site TG00SE 211.

The similarity in style with the Charlemagne/Mainz denier illustrated M&G pl. IV, 93 confirms the attribution of this coin to Mainz. Note the inversion of the letters FR on the obverse.

J.C.M./J.A.D.

100. Louis the Pious, denier, class 3, c. 822–40, M&G 472.  
Obv. +HLVDVVICVSIMP (VD ligatured).  
Rev. +PISTIANARELICIO (R in 'gamma' form).  
Weight: 1.50g (23.1gr). Die-axis: 100°.  
Burnham Market, Norfolk, site 18496.

Simon Coupland, 'Money and coinage under Louis the Pious', *Francia* 17 (1990), 23–54, does not attribute the style of this coin to any particular mint. The VD ligature is unusual.

J.C.M./J.A.D.

101. Louis the Pious (814–40), cut quarter of a gold solidus, M&G 515, MEC 1.750-1.

Obv. DNHL[V ], ties and back of head of bust right.

Rev. [ ] NVN, fragment of cross within wreath tied with ribbons.

Weight: 1.16g (17.9gr). Die-axis: 0°. Specific gravity: 17.49 (87% gold).

Louth, near, Lincs. M/d find, November 1996. Found by Geoff Taylor, who kindly sent it to the Fitzwilliam Museum for identification and recording.

In his die-study of the solidi of Louis the Pious and their imitations, Grierson traced some thirteen official solidi and more than 70 imitations (P. Grierson, 'The gold solidus of Louis the Pious and its imitations', *JMP* 38 (1951), 1–41; reprinted with comments and additions in P. Grierson, *Dark Age Numismatics*

(London, 1979), art. XXII). Since then the number of imitations has grown considerably, but few if any official solidi have come to light. Although the present find is not from any of the four known pairs of dies, it has all the hallmarks of an official coin. Such of the legend as is on the cut quarter is entirely literate in well formed letters, but the bust appears to be in a refined style with a neatly tied diadem, and the ribbon on the wreath which is just visible curls as on the official coins. These stylistic judgements are supported by the fineness, 87% gold, which is comparable to other official solidi that have been analysed, while imitations tend to range in fineness down from c. 75% gold. The regular die-axis also points in the same direction. While in the case of a cut quarter it is difficult to be certain that this is an official piece rather than a refined imitation, the evidence points in that direction, in which case this is the first official solidus to have been recorded as a find from Britain.

The added interest of this Lincolnshire find is the very fact that it has been cleanly cut with a chisel into as exact a quarter as one could hope to achieve. The solidus was struck to a standard of c. 4.4g, so that a quarter would weigh 1.1g which compares with this piece's weight of 1.16g. It was intended then for economic rather than ornamental use, and probably not merely as a weight of gold, but as a quarter mancus (7½d). In England we are familiar with cut halfpennies and farthings, but these came into use only in the late tenth century. The present coin was minted in the first quarter of the ninth century and shows no signs of wear, but even if it remained as a store of wealth for decades, are we really to think that it was more than 150 years old when cut to this size, or does it indicate a much earlier practice of quartering such exceptional coins?

M.A.S.B.

102. Charles the Bald, denier, class 2, 864–77, and later, M&G 843, *BMC* 118–19, *MEC* 1, 897.

*Obv.* +CRATIIAD-[ ] (part of E)X; Karolus-monogram with retrograde S.

*Rev.* +SCIAI[ ]VSIIIM (first S retrograde); cross.

Weight: 12.6g (19.4gr), incomplete. Die-axis: 270°.

Garboldisham, Norfolk, site TM 08SW 101.

The degenerated features of this specimen (misspelling of GRATIA, retrograde Ss) are not necessarily proof of a late date: the output of GDRs was big and there is great variety within the issue.

J.C.M./J.A.D.

103. Charles the Bald (840–77) or later, halfpenny, GDR type, Le Mans, M&G 907 var.

*Obv.* +GRATIA D-I REX, Karolus monogram.

*Rev.* +CINOMANIS [ ]ITAS, cross.

Weight: 0.66g (10.2gr).

Kemble, Glos. M/d find, c. 1977.

The light weight may imply that this is an immobilisation of the early tenth century.

M.P./S.T.S.

104. Charles the Bald, cut half denier, class 2, 864–77 and later, Courcessin.

*Obv.* [ ]RATIA D-[ ]

*Rev.* +H CVR[ ]IEN

Weight: 0.79g (12.2gr). Die-axis: 315°.

Kelling, Norfolk. M/d find, 1998.

J.A.D.

105. West Frankish Kingdom, Charles the Bald, denier, class II, Troyes; M&G 955 var.

*Obv.* +CRATIA D-I REX

*Rev.* +TRECAS CIIVTS

Weight: 1.32 g (20.3gr).

Kilham, East Riding of Yorkshire. M/d find by S. Reynolds, before October 1997.

C.P.B.

#### Islamic coins

106. Samanid dirham of Nasr bin Ahmad (AH 301–32/AD 913–42), mint of Ma'dan.

Weight: 2.64g, holed.

Coltishall, Norfolk. M/d find, December 1996.

V.P./J.A.D.

107. Contemporary imitation of an Islamic dirham, Viking period.

Weight: 2.60g.

Cranwich, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.

V.P./J.A.D.

#### Later Anglo-Saxon coins

108. Offa of Mercia (757–96), Light coinage, North 287, Canterbury?, moneyer Ethelwald.

*Obv.* OFFA | REX in two lines

*Rev.* EDEL | VALD in two lines

Weight: 1.2g (18.5gr). Die-axis: 0°.

Teynham, Kent. M/d find by Mr A. Belsom, August 1996.

D.J.H.

109. Offa of Mercia, Portrait coinage, North 291 var., moneyer Ealred.

*Obv.* OFFA REX ('Rex' retrograde, cf. *BMC* 9)

*Rev.* +E AL R Ed

Weight: 1.26g (19.4gr).

'Eye, near', Suffolk. M/d find, 1997.

(illustration 2:1.)

M.J.C.

110. Offa of Mercia, Heavy coinage, Blunt 88, North 321, Canterbury, moneyer Deimund.

*Obv.* + OEFA / REX / M (lozenge O, chevron-barred A, uncial M), in three lines, many pellets in field.

*Rev.* +DELN / VND (L inverted for I, n for M, reversed N).

Weight: 1.43g (22.1gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Lincoln, near, Lincs, 1997. Information supplied by John Ogden.

The errors with obverse and reverse legend have arisen from inaccurate copying of a coin such as Blunt 88 (Lockett 35). Thus in 'Offa' the E comes from an F with two pellets at its base, while in 'Deimund' the inverted L comes from an I and pellet, the n from an M, and the reversed N from a normal N. Similar errors are occasionally found on other Canterbury coins of the Heavy Coinage, e.g. Ethelnoth (Blunt 100).

M.A.S.B./S.M.

111. Offa of Mercia, Group III, North 326, moneyer Ethelnoth.

Obv. M[ ]

Rev. EP-E[ ]

Weight: 0.32g (5.0gr), fragment. Die-axis: 0°.

Thompson, Norfolk, site 31365. M/d find, March 1997.

J.A.D.

112. Offa of Mercia, Light coinage, East Anglian mint, moneyer Oethelred.

Obv. +OFFA+REX; cross potent on two steps

Rev. OE ðE LR Ed in the angles of a cross-crosslet, with lozenge centre containing a large pellet within a circle of pellets.

Weight: 1.12g (17.2gr). Die-axis: 0°.

'Guildford, near', Surrey, before 1995.

Shown BM, September 1997; Dix Noonan Webb, 26 November 1997, 102. Similar to *BNJ* 62 (1992), Coin Register no. 255, but with cross potent instead of cross pattée on the obverse and a circle of pellets in the central lozenge instead of a cross. The reverse designs also closely linked with an Offa portrait type of the same moneyer (*BMC* 25) which has both a cross and a circle within the central lozenge. Also closely related are no. 113 below and Coin Register 1992, no. 256, from the same pair of dies. These have a similar cross on steps obverse, but the reverse cross consists of a large pellet within a circle of pellets at each corner of a lozenge, with a pellet and circle within the central lozenge.

There are thus four different but related reverse designs (including the portrait type), and two similar cross on steps obverse designs, one known from two different dies, including the present coin. So many variations on this theme from such a small number of examples suggests that this may have been quite a substantial coinage.

G.W./P.J.P.-M.

113. Offa of Mercia, Light coinage, East Anglian mint, moneyer Oethelred.

Obv. +OFFA+REX; cross pattée on two steps

Rev. OE ðE LR Ed in the angles of a cross of five pelletted circles, each containing a pellet.

Central pellet enclosed by lozenge, the points of which meet the outer circles.

Weight: 1.2g (18.5gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Monkton, Kent. M/d find by Mrs C. Webber, August 1997.

Uncatalogued type, but same type and dies as *BNJ* 62 (1992), Coin Register no. 256. See also above, no. 112.

D.J.H.

114. Cynethrith, wife of Offa, non-portrait type, Canterbury, Blunt 124, North 340, moneyer Eoba.

Obv. CENEÐREÐ REGINA

Rev. E O B A on leaves of quatrefoil

Weight: 1.07g (165.gr). Die-axis: 45°.

Kelvedon, near, Essex. M/d find by Mr S. Newman, 1997.

Dix Noonan Webb, 26 November 1997, 103.

P.J.P.-M.

115. Coenwulf, Early Three Line / Enclosed Latin cross type, unpublished, London, moneyer Pendwine, c. 796-8.

Obv. CENVVLF / REX / M (N reversed, uncial M), trefoils either side of M.

Rev. PE-NDV-VIN-E (Ns reversed), 'standing cross', i.e. a Latin cross on beaded shaft, enclosed by a line which meets and becomes an outer border, beyond which there is a beaded circle.

Weight: 1.36g (21.0gr). As found, two edges were bent (see photo), but these were subsequently straightened professionally. Die-axis: 160°.

Watton, near, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997. Information Paul Murawski. This coin was offered in Mr Murawski's catalogue, *Valued History*, Dec. 1997, no. 48.

This bold reverse design is quite novel in Anglo-Saxon coinage. The sense of a standing cross is conveyed effectively by the overall composition, with the lettering of the moneyer's name wrapped around it, and by the emphasis given by the enclosing line. The moneyer Pendwine was previously known only for Coenwulf's Tribach type (*BLS* Cn 17), and the occurrence of this early coin, transitional from Offa's Three Line type, allows us to attribute him to London, since at this period the Canterbury and East Anglian mints were in the control of local rulers.

M.A.S.B./S.M.

116. Mercia, Coenwulf (796-821), Transitional Tribach type, *BLS* -, North 343, London, moneyer Ibbā

Obv. COENVVL / REX F / M (for *Coenwulf rex M*), in three lines.

Rev. IBBA between arms or tribach.

Weight: 1.4g (21.8gr). Die-axis: 330°.

Laceby, near, Lincs. M/d find, 1997.

M.A.S.B./S.M.

117. Coenwulf, M / Cross type, unpublished, Canterbury, moneyer Sigeberht, c. 798-c. 802.

Obv. +CO-EHVVL:F R-EX (starting at 6 o'clock), around central uncial M

(abbreviation mark above).

Rev. SIGE-B-ER-HT, small cross in beaded inner circle.

Weight: not recorded.

Bredfield, Suffolk. M/d find, 1997. Information supplied by John Newman.

This reverse type is otherwise unrecorded for Phase I of Coenwulf's coinage, which generally has various forms of Tribach design (*BLS* Cn 5-22, North 342). A similar

cross in a beaded inner circle is used at Canterbury as an obverse type for coins of Cuthred of Kent (BLS Cd 9, North 207/1). If, as has been suggested (*MEC* 1, p. 288), Coenwulf's coins precede those of Cuthred, then this coin anticipates the design subsequently used by Cuthred. The use of uncial Es in the reverse legend is also an unusual feature not found on other coins, although uncial Ds, Hs and Ms do occur.

M.A.S.B./S.M.

118. Ceolwulf I of Mercia (812–3), First Series, *BMC* 107/108, North 387, uncertain moneyer.

*Obv.* [ ]VVLF[ ]; head right

*Rev.* R[ ]|[ ]EP[ ]|[ ], retrograde letters

Weight: 0.49g (7.5gr), fragment.

Kelling, Norfolk. M/d find, March 1997.

J.A.D.

119. Ceolwulf I of Mercia, similar to *BMC* 113, North 380.

*Obv.* +CIOLVVLFREXMERCI / OR / V, the last three letters in the field within the inner circle, divided by a tall cross.

*Rev.* +OBADOROBERNIA, cross-crosslet with pellet in each angle, within the inner circle.

Weight: 1.29g (19.9gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Lambley, near, Notts. Found by Mr J.D. Ford, Spring 1997. Now in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

G.W.

120. Kent, anonymous regal issue c. 822–3, BLS An5, North 221, Canterbury, moneyer Swefherd.

*Obv.* +SVVEFNED MONETA

*Rev.* + | DORO | BERNIA | CIVITAS | S

Weight and die-axis: not recorded.

Andover, near, Hants. M/d find, c. 1991. Published by Peter Seaby in *Coin Register* 1991, no. 126 but without an illustration.

Same dies as BLS An5.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

121. Baldred of Kent (c. 823–5), North 220, Canterbury, moneyer Diormod.

*Obv.* +BELDRED REX CA[ ]; diademed 'bonneted' head right.

*Rev.* +DIO[R]MOD MONET; DRV R CITS in inner circle.

Weight: 1.025g (15.8gr), chipped. Die-axis: 0°.

Bidford, Warwickshire, east of town. M/d find by Mr R.J. Laight, September 1997.

This is the twentieth coin recorded from this site. Since 1985, a relatively small area has produced thirteen sceattas and six pennies, leading to its interpretation as a Middle Saxon market site. See P.J. Wise and W.A. Seaby, 'Finds from a new productive site at Bidford-on-Avon, Warwickshire', *Trans. Birmingham and Warwicks. Archaeol. Soc.* 99, 57–64.

P.J.W.

122. Wulfred, Archbishop of Canterbury, Second Monogram type, North 240/2, Canterbury, moneyer Swefherd.

*Obv.* +WLFRED ARCEPS

*Rev.* +SPEFHVRD MON

Weight: 1.3g (20.0gr). Die-axis: 45°.

Waldershare Park, near Dover, Kent. M/d find by Mr G. Neaves at Pure Gold rally, 21 September 1997. Photograph by courtesy of Spink & Son Ltd.

D.J.H.

123. St Edmund Memorial, penny, mid-issue, c. 905–10, North 483, pl. 7, 22, moneyer Berner.

*Obv.* +SC EA[ ]NVI°, top-barred A surrounded by three annulets.

*Rev.* +B[ ]RNERA (unbarred A), cross and four annulets.

Weight: 1.20g (18.5gr), bent, broken and repaired, incomplete. Die-axis: 90°.

Oxborough, Norfolk (precise site unknown). M/d find, September 1991. Presented to the Fitzwilliam Museum by Michael Longfield (CM.4-1992). Illustrated in *Fitzwilliam Museum Annual Report* 1992, p. 27, fig. 1, and by Lord Stewartby in *BNJ* 1994, pl. 7, 11.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B./J.C.M.

124. St Edmund Memorial, penny, North 483.

*Obv.* [ ]SC EA[ ]

*Rev.* [ ]ERAM[ ]

Weight: 0.50g (7.7gr), fragment.

Congham, Norfolk, site 3565. M/d find, January 1997.

J.A.D.

125. Edward the Elder (899–924), East Anglian issue.

*Obv.* +EAVD[ ]

*Rev.* | [ ]EON | [ ]

Weight: 0.58g (8.9gr), fragment.

Bawsey, Norfolk, site 25962.

J.A.D./M.M.A.

126. Wessex, Alfred, Lunette type, var. d, *BMC* 1c, North 628, moneyer Cialulf.

*Obv.* +AELBRED | REX

*Rev.* MON | CIALVLF | ETA, divided by two lines with hooked ends.

Weight: 0.95g (14.6gr), dark patina, slightly oxidised. Die-axis: 170°.

Girton, Cambs. Found March 1997 by Mr R.V. Jeffries during garden work at Hick's Lane, some 30 cm below the surface.

J.C.M.

127. Eadred, Bust Crowned type, *CTCE* 227, North 715, Lincoln, moneyer Are.

*Obv.* +EADRED REX, crowned bust right.

*Rev.* + ARE: IINCOIA CIVIT: (N reversed), small cross pattée.

Weight: 1.04g (16.0gr), chipped. Die-axis: 270°.

Suffolk, west, near Newmarket. M/d find, 1996. Acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.1036-1996).

This is the third-known and most literate specimen and it confirms the attribution to Lincoln. Published in M. Blackburn and M. Bonser, 'Another Lincoln Mint-Signed Coin of Eadred', *NCirc* 1997, p. 282.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B.

128. Eadgar, Bust Crowned type, *CTCE* 376, North 750, uncertain East Anglian mint, moneyer Bruninc.  
*Obv.* +EADGAR REX, crowned bust right.  
*Rev.* +BRVNINC MONETAE, small cross pattée.  
 Weight: 1.35g (20.8gr), chipped. Die-axis: c. 180°.  
 Kelsale, Suffolk. M/d find, 1997.

Same dies as *SCBI* British Museum V, 1175. Photo 115% of scale.

M.A.S.B./S.M./J.N.

129. Penny, Bust Crowned imitation (probably of Eadmund or Eadred, cf. North 704, 713, *CTCE* p. 197, no. 266, p. 198, no. 243), moneyer Fredoard (Fredhard).  
*Obv.* +E(upside down A)RDCV(R?)IC(part of V?)[...]  
 (the Cs are square); crowned and draped bust breaking the legend, to the left.  
*Rev.* +FREDOARDAO[...]; small cross.  
 Weight: 0.95g (14.6gr), broken, incomplete. Die-axis: 330°.  
 Holme-on-Sea, Norfolk, site 21668.

This should be considered an imitation of a pre-reform issue, because i) the bust is breaking the legend (even if it is to the left as on the reform issue); ii) there is no mint-name; iii) Fredhard is only known to have struck for Athelstan (Blunt, *BNJ* 42, p. 127, no. 318), Eadmund and Eadred. The blundered obverse legend has remnants of both of the two latter names. The second A on the reverse (without a stroke) is probably a blundered M of MONETA. Imitations of the Crowned Bust type are rare (*CTCE* pp. 207–10; Blunt, *BNJ* 42, pp. 131–3).

Identified by Mark Blackburn and Jens Moesgaard, Fitzwilliam Museum.

J.A.D.

130. Edward the Martyr, North 763, Lincoln, moneyer Goding.  
*Obv.* +EADPARD REX ANGLO  
*Rev.* +GODING M-O LINDL  
 Weight: 1.30g (20.0gr). Die-axis: 0°.  
 'Suffolk'. M/d find, 1997.

M.J.C.

131. Edward the Martyr, North 763, London, moneyer Æthelred.  
*Obv.* +EADPARD REX ANGLO  
*Rev.* +ÆDELRED M-O LV  
 Weight: 1.01g (15.6gr). Die-axis: 45°.  
 Foulsham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D.

132. Æthelred II, First Small Cross type, *BMC* i, North 764, Thetford, moneyer Leofthegen.  
*Obv.* +[ÆDEL]RÆD REX ANGL  
*Rev.* +LEOFÐEGEND ON ÐEDF  
 Weight: 1.63g (25.1gr). Die-axis: 0°.  
 Thompson, Norfolk, site 31365. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D.

133. Æthelred II, First Hand type, *BMC* iia, North 766, London, moneyer Wulfrix (probably).  
*Obv.* +Æ[ ] REXANGLORX

*Rev.* [ ]LFRIC M-O LVN[ ]  
 Weight: 1.2g (18.5gr), chipped. Die-axis: 270°.  
 St Nicholas-at-Wade, Kent. M/d find by Mr C. Bradshaw, October 1996.

D.J.H.

134. Æthelred II, First Hand type, *BMC* iia, North 766, Norwich, moneyer Manning.  
*Obv.* +ÆDELRED REX ANGLORX  
*Rev.* +MANNIG M-O NORÐPIC  
 Weight: 1.57g (24.2gr). Die-axis: 0°.  
 Sporle, Norfolk. M/d find, February 1997.

J.A.D.

135. Æthelred II, First Hand type, *BMC* iia, North 766, Thetford, moneyer Osferth.  
*Obv.* ÆDELRED REX AIGLO  
*Rev.* +OSFERÐ M-O ÐEOTFO  
 Weight: 1.60g (24.7gr), chipped and broken. Die-axis: 180°.  
 Ixworth, Suffolk. M/d find, 1997. Information supplied by Roy Owens.

S.M.

136. Æthelred II, cut halfpenny, First Hand type, *BMC* iia, North 766, Lewes?, moneyer uncertain.  
*Rev.* [ ]TAL[ ]ERPI  
 Weight: 0.68g (10.5gr). Die-axis: 180°.  
 Whissonsett, Norfolk, site 31879. M/d find, 1998.

J.A.D.

137. Æthelred II, cut halfpenny, Second Hand type, *BMC* iid, North 768, uncertain mint, moneyer Godwine.  
*Obv.* ÆDEL[ ]GLOX  
*Rev.* GODPINE[ ]  
 Weight: 0.61g (9.4gr). Die-axis: 225°.  
 West Acre, Norfolk, site 31168. M/d find, November 1996.

J.A.D.

138. Æthelred II, cut halfpenny, Second Hand type, *BMC* iid, North 768, mint and moneyer uncertain (?Byrthsig).  
*Obv.* [ ]RÆD REX A[ ]  
*Rev.* (BYRHSIGE?) – lettering blurred.  
 Weight: 0.64g (9.8gr). Die-axis: 45°.  
 Roudham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D.

139. Æthelred II, Crux type, *BMC* iia, North 770, mint and moneyer uncertain (missing).  
 Weight: 0.45g.  
 Sporle with Palgrave, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.

Only the area within the inner circle is present, the outer part having been broken (or perhaps cut) away. Another similar example, from Dorset, was published in *BNJ* 63 (1993), Coin Register no. 215 (same type, with outer part removed). This perhaps increases the likelihood that this central portion of the coin was used in jewellery.

J.A.D.



140. Æthelred II, cut halfpenny, Long Cross type, *BMC* iva, North 774, London, moneyer uncertain.  
Weight: 0.73g (11.2gr).  
Rocklands, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D.

Weight: 1.1g (17.0gr). Die-axis: 0°.  
Waldershare Park, near Dover, Kent. M/d find by Mr B. Davidson at Pure Gold rally, 21 September 1997.  
(Not illustrated.)

D.J.H.

141. Æthelred II, cut farthing, Long Cross type, *BMC* iva, North 774, uncertain mint, moneyer ...fstan.  
*Rev.* [ ]FSTAN[ ]  
Weight: 0.33g (5.1gr).  
Gainsborough, near, Lincs., same village as nos 142 and 150 and as Coin Register 1996, no. 213 (more precise find spot confidentially). M/d find before 1995.  
(No photo of reverse.)

M.J.B./J.C.M.

148. Cnut, Short Cross type, *BMC* xvi, North 790, Lincoln, moneyer Godaman.  
*Obv.* +CNV / T RECX  
*Rev.* +GODAMAN ON LVN  
Weight and die-axis not recorded.  
Salisbury, a few miles NE of, near Wilts/Hants border.  
M/d find, 1992/3.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

142. Æthelred II, cut farthing, Long Cross type, *BMC* iva, North 774, York, uncertain moneyer.  
*Rev.* [ ]EOPR (pellet in the O)  
Weight: 0.34g (5.2gr).  
Gainsborough, near, Lincs., same village as nos 141 and 150 and as Coin Register 1996, no. 213 (more precise find spot confidentially). M/d find before 1995.  
(No photo of reverse.)

M.J.B./J.C.M.

149. Cnut, Short Cross type, *BMC* xvi, North 790, Norwich, moneyer Mana.  
*Obv.* +CNVT RECX  
*Rev.* +MANA ON NORD  
Weight: 0.91g (14.0gr). Die-axis: 0°.  
Redenhall with Harleston, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D.

150. Cnut, cut farthing, Short Cross type, *BMC* xvi, North 790, Stamford, uncertain moneyer.  
*Rev.* +[ ]STA  
Weight: 0.21g (3.2gr).  
Gainsborough, near, Lincs., same village as nos 141–2 and as Coin Register 1996, no. 213 (more precise find spot confidentially). M/d find before 1995.  
(No photo of reverse.)

M.J.B./J.C.M.

143. Æthelred II, Helmet type, *BMC* viii, North 775, Canterbury, moneyer Leofric.  
*Obv.* +ÆDELRED REX AN  
*Rev.* +LEOFRIC M'O CE  
Weight: 1.2g (18.5gr). Die-axis: 180°.  
Waldershare Park, near Dover, Kent. M/d find by Mr R. Holmewood at Pure Gold rally, 21 September 1997.

D.J.H.

151. Harold I, cut farthing, Fleur de lis type, North 804, mint and moneyer uncertain.  
*Obv.* [ ]LD R+  
*Rev.* [ ]/NCO[?]/[ ] (NC ligatured), trefoil of pellets in the angles.  
Weight: 0.26g (4.0gr).  
West Hythe, Kent, same find spot as *BNJ* 1985, p. 73.  
M/d find, November 1991.

Despite its distinctive features, this coin has defied identification. The obverse has an unusually short form of 'rex'. The reverse is of the variety with a trefoil of pellets rather than the more common fleur de lis. The reverse inscription may represent a moneyer's name ending in '-inc' or the Lincoln mint signature ('Lincol').

M.A.S.B./M.J.B./D.C./J.C.M.

144. Æthelred II, Last Small Cross type, *BMC* i, North 777, London, moneyer Lyfinc (Leofing).  
*Obv.* +ÆDELRED REX ANGL-O (pellet in O)  
*Rev.* +LYFINC MON LVNDENE (pellet in O)  
Weight and die-axis not recorded.  
Middlesex. M/d find, 1993.

M.J.B./D.C./J.C.M.

145. Cnut, Pointed Helmet type, *BMC* xiv, North 787, mint uncertain, moneyer Godwine.  
*Obv.* +CNVT REX A  
*Rev.* +GODPI[ ]E ON[ ]  
Weight: 0.65g (10.0gr), incomplete. Die-axis: 270°.  
West Rudham, Norfolk. M/d find, March 1997.

J.A.D.

152. Edward the Confessor, Radiate/Small Cross type, *BMC* i, North 816, Lincoln, moneyer Ælfnoth.  
Weight: 1.3g (20gr). Die-axis: 90°.  
North Owersby, near, Lincolnshire. M/d find by S. Berta, August 1994.

A die duplicate of Hildebrand 280 and Mossop plate LXVII, 29.  
(Not illustrated.)

E.W.D.

146. Cnut, cut farthing, Quatrefoil type, *BMC* viii, North 781–5, mint and moneyer uncertain.  
*Rev.* [ ]OFPI[ ]  
Weight: 0.27g (4.1gr).  
Quidenham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D.

147. Cnut, Short Cross type, *BMC* xvi, North 790, London, moneyer Edric.  
*Rev.* +EDRIC ONN LVND

153. Edward the Confessor, cut halfpenny, Radiate/Small Cross type, *BMC* i, var. a, mint and moneyer uncertain.

Rev. [ JERD ON ] ; annulet in field.  
Weight: 0.46g (7.1gr).  
Kelling, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D.

154. Edward the Confessor, Small Flan type, *BMC* ii, North 818, London, moneyer Wulfric.

Obv. +EDPERD RE:-

Rev. +PVLFRIC ON LVE

Weight: 0.7g (10.8gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Waldershare Park, near Dover, Kent. M/d find by Mr C. Perks at Pure Gold rally, 21 September 1997.

D.J.H.

155. Edward the Confessor, PACX type, *BMC* iv, North 813, Chester, moneyer Snell.

Obv. +EDRAR ·DEC+:

Rev. +SN ELON LECE CES (second E and C of mint name are rounded)

Weight: 1.15g (17.7gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Worcestershire, eastern; precise find spot recorded confidentially. M/d find by Mr D. Crawford, 1990s.

This appears to be the first PACX coin of Snell to be discovered, filling a gap in his career, which extends from Quatrefoil to Radiate Small Cross.

D.J.S./A.B.

156. Edward the Confessor, Expanding Cross type, *BMC* v, North 820, Thetford, moneyer Leofric.

Obv. +EDPARD RE

Rev. +LOFRIC ON DEODE

Weight: 0.99g (15.2gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Holme Hale, Norfolk. M/d find, 1998.

J.A.D.

157. Edward the Confessor, cut halfpenny, Expanding Cross type, heavy coinage, *BMC* v, North 823, Colchester, moneyer Stanmaer.

Obv. +ED[ ] REX:

Rev. +STAN[ ] LEE:

Weight: 0.8g (12.4gr). Die-axis: 0°.

Barham, Kent. M/d find by Mr G. Pettit, April 1997.

D.J.H.

158. Edward the Confessor, cut halfpenny, Sovereign-Eagles/Hammer Cross mule, *BMC* IX/XI, Hildebrand H/G, North 827/828, Bedford, moneyer Wulfwig.

Obv. [ ] RX ANGLO

Rev. +PVL[ ] EFOR

Weight: 0.67g (10.3gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Houghton Conquest, near, Beds. M/d find, 1997. Information supplied by Chris Montague.

Same dies as a specimen in the British Museum (exhibited by Elmore Jones, *BNJ* 25 (1945-48), p. 100).

M.A.S.B.

159. Edward the Confessor, Hammer Cross type, *BMC* xi, North 828, Lincoln, moneyer Ælfnoth.

Obv. +EDPARD REX

Rev. +ÆLFNOD ON LINCO

Weight: 1.30g (20.0gr). Die-axis: 45°.

Kelling, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D.

#### Byzantine coins

160. Phocas (602-10) or Heraclius (610-41), Carthage, copper 20 nummi, Carthage, *MIB* II pl. 36, no. 98; pl. 37, no. 12; or *MIB* III, p. 17, no. 235.

Obv. bearded bust facing.

Rev. XXE, KRT[ ] in exergue.

Weight: 4.36g.

Bedford. M/d find c. 1995 or earlier. Reported in 1997 to Ann Insecker of Bedford Museum, who made the drawing reproduced here. No photograph available.

Based on the drawings one cannot identify the coin firmly. Stray finds of Byzantine coins may be modern rather than early medieval losses.

M.A.S.B./S.P.D./S.M.

161. Anonymous follis, class B, c. 1059-81.

Weight: 5.82g.

Kelling, Norfolk. M/d find, April 1997.

J.A.D.

#### Scandinavian coins

162. Norway, Harald Hådrada (1047-1066), base silver penny, Triquetra issue, later phase c. 1055-66 (K. Skaare, *Coins and Coinage in Viking-Age Norway* (Oslo, 1976), type B.A3c), mint and moneyer unknown. Obv. I°+IO / [I]CI+ [°]C/OI, triquetra.

Rev. NI / IA· / [IX / I]XI, short voided cross within inner circle, with annulet at centre and on terminals of arms, three pellets in two opposite quarters.

Weight: 0.99g (15.3gr).

Doncaster, near, Yorks., 1996. M/d find. Information kindly supplied by Mr Alan Lowton.

Same dies as Skaare nos. 18 l-n; same obv. die as nos. 18 a-k; same rev. as no. 80 a. These coins have finenesses ranging between 16% and 28% silver, and they are thus thought to belong to the latter part of Harald's reign. Skaare records some 257 coins of the Triquetra type struck from at least 106 obverse and 126 reverse dies. Some 95% of them have illegible legends, and cannot be attributed to a specific mint.

Two other specimens of this Triquetra type have been found in the British Isles, both in the Scandinavian settled Scottish Isles: Dunrossness (Shetland) hoard c. 1844 and an excavation find from Udal, North Uist, 1970 (Skaare, p. 178). This is the first specimen recorded from England, and its base silver and light weight compared with contemporary Anglo-Saxon pennies would not have made it an attractive coin to pass in circulation. But it does fit into a pattern of a small scattering of eleventh-century Scandinavian coins that have been found in the eastern parts of the Danelaw (M. M. Archibald, 'Against the Tide: Coin-Movement from Scandinavia to the British Isles in the Viking Age', *NNF-Nytt*, 1991.1, 13-22). One should

therefore resist the temptation to associate its loss with Harald Hardrada's abortive invasion of England and defeat at Stamford Bridge in 1066.

M.A.S.B./M.J.B.

# Post Conquest coins

163. William I, cut halfpenny, Profile/Cross Fleury type, *BMC* I, North 839, Derby?, moneyer uncertain.

*Obv.* [ ]REX A

*Rev.* [ ]D ON DIO[ ]

Weight: 0.59g (9.1gr).

Crimplesham, Norfolk. M/d find, May 1997.

J.A.D.

164. William I, cut halfpenny, Two Sceptres type, *BMC* IV, North 844, mint and moneyer uncertain.

*Obv.* +PIL[ ]

*Rev.* [ ]MVN ON[ ]

Weight: 0.51g (7.8gr).

West Acre, Norfolk, site 30820. M/d find, March 1997.

J.A.D.

165. William I, cut halfpenny, Two Stars type, *BMC* V, North 845, mint and moneyer uncertain.

*Rev.* [ ]IRI[ ]

Weight: 0.41g (6.3gr), incomplete.

Oxborough, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D.

166. William I, cut halfpenny, Two Stars type, *BMC* V, North 845, mint and moneyer uncertain.

*Rev.* [ ]INE ON[ ]

Weight: 0.45g (6.9gr).

Tacolneston, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D.

167. William I, Sword type, *BMC* VI, North 846, London, moneyer Ælfwine?

*Rev.* +AFPI[ ]O LENDON (?)

Weight: 1.34g (20.6gr). Die-axis: 315°.

Congham, Norfolk, site 25765, M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D.

168. William I, Profile/Cross and Trefoils type, *BMC* VII, North 847, London, moneyer Wulfwine.

*Rev.* +PILFPINE ON LVN

Weight: 1.30g (20.0gr). Die-axis: 270°.

Cranwich, Norfolk, site 1039. M/d find, October 1997.

J.A.D.

169. William II, Cross in Quatrefoil type, *BMC* II, North 852, Norwich, moneyer Ægelric.

*Rev.* +IEGLRIC ON NORDI

Weight: 1.30g (20.0gr). Die-axis: 0°.

West Wickham, Cambs., 1997.

M.J.C.

170. Henry I, Annulets type, *BMC* I, North 857, Norwich, moneyer Thured.

*Obv.* +HENRI REX

*Rev.* +THVRED O NOR[ ]

Weight: 1.17g (18.0gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Wymondham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D.

171. Henry I, Profile/Cross Fleury type, *BMC* II, North 858, London, moneyer Ordgar.

*Rev.* +ORDGAR ON LVNDE

Weight and die-axis: not recorded.

Cranford, Middlesex. M/d find by Mr M. Hough, June 1997.

From different dies than the only other known specimen (W.H. Pheatt collection, Buckland Dix & Wood, 21 March 1995, lot 682).

(Not illustrated.)

P.J.P.-M.

172. Henry I, Pax type, *BMC* III, North 859, Norwich, moneyer Godwine.

*Rev.* GODPINE ON N[ ]

Weight: 1.20g (18.5gr).

Quidenham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D.

173. Henry I, Quatrefoil with Piles type, *BMC* VII, North 863, Oxford, moneyer Æthelnoth.

*Rev.* +A[ ]N:OXINF

Weight: 1.25g (19.3gr), snicked. Die-axis: 270°.

Burmington, Warwickshire. M/d find by Mr D.S. Tame, early 1996, now Warwickshire Museum N6439.

Same reverse die as *SCBI* 12, no. 217.

D.J.S./P.J.W.

174. Henry I, Full Face/Cross Fleury type, *BMC* X, North 866, Wallingford, moneyer Godwine.

*Rev.* +GODPINE ON WA[ ]G

Weight: 1.3g (20.0gr). Die-axis: 90°.

Waldershare Park, near Dover, Kent. M/d find by Mr T. Davies at Pure Gold rally, 21 September 1997.

(Not illustrated.)

D.J.H.

175. Henry I, Full Face/Cross Fleury type, *BMC* X, North 866, mint and moneyer uncertain.

*Rev.* +PI[ ]M[ ]IIO:(?)

Weight: 1.42g (21.9gr).

Carleton Rode, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D.

176. Henry I, Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* XV, North 871, uncertain mint, moneyer Willem.

*Obv.* [ ]CVS

*Rev.* [ ]ILLEM:O[ ]

Weight: 1.36g (21.0gr). Die-axis: 180°.

Kirby Cane, Norfolk. M/d find, January 1997.

J.A.D.

177. Henry I, Quatrefoil on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* XV, North 871, Lincoln, moneyer Aslac.

*Obv.* [ ]ICV[ ]

*Rev.* [ ]SLAC:ON:NI[ ]

Weight: 1.10g (17.0gr). Die-axis: 310°.  
Boston, north of, Lincs. M/d find, 1997. Information  
supplied by John Ogden.

M.A.S.B./S.M.

178. Henry I, Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* XV, North 871, mint and moneyer uncertain.  
Weight: 1.24g (19.1gr), incomplete.  
Great Dunham, Norfolk. M/d find, October 1996.

J.A.D.

179. Henry I, cut halfpenny, Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury type, *BMC* XV, North 871, mint and moneyer uncertain.  
Weight: 0.68g (10.5gr)  
Kelling, Norfolk. M/d find.

J.A.D.

180. Stephen, Cross Moline type, *BMC* I, North 873, Warwick?, moneyer Everard (?).  
*Obv.* STI[ ]NE RE[ ], very flat.  
*Rev.* + EV[ ]  
Weight: 1.31g (20.2gr), broken. Die-axis: 0°.  
Derby. M/d find, 1997. Information supplied by John Ogden.

M.A.S.B./S.M.

181. Stephen, cut halfpenny, Cross Moline type, *BMC* I, North 873, mint and moneyer uncertain.  
Weight: 0.47g (7.2gr), fragment.  
Narford, Norfolk. M/d find, November 1996.

J.A.D.

182. Stephen, cut halfpenny, Cross Moline type, *BMC* I, North 873, mint and moneyer uncertain.  
Weight: 0.97g (14.9gr).  
Shouldham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D.

183. Stephen, Cross voided and Mulletts type, *BMC* II, North 878, Dunwich?, moneyer Paen.  
*Obv.* +S[ ]S[ ]  
*Rev.* +PAEN:ON[ ]NEPIC  
Weight: 1.24g (19.2gr). Die-axis: 180°.  
Heveningham, Suffolk (site recorded on Suffolk SMR).  
M/d find, 1997.

This coin is important for, if the attribution to Dunwich proposed here is accepted, it provides not only a new moneyer for the mint, but also a fuller form of the mint signature which confirms its relatively recent identification. However, since the mint name is here incomplete (-NEPIC, with probably two letters missing), the attribution requires some deduction.

Of the four mints of Stephen with names ending '-wic', Ipswich (*Gipeswic*) and Norwich (*Northwic*) can be discounted, since neither could have N or NE preceding the '-wic' element. Sandwich (*Sandwic*) has mint signatures SAN, SAND, SANDP, SANPI, etc. but never with an E after the N. Dunwich (*Dunewic*), on the other hand, does naturally have an E and recorded mint

signatures are DV, DVN, DVNE. DVNEPIC would be the fullest and best form, and this is what we appear to have here.

Paen is not recorded as a moneyer for Dunwich, but is presumably the same individual as the prolific moneyer at nearby Ipswich in Stephen types I and II. Only three coins of Dunwich in type II appear to be known, one in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow, of Thurstan (*BNJ* 1968, p. 31) and two from the Wicklewold hoard in the BM, a cut halfpenny of -R (Rogier?) and a cut farthing without moneyer's name. For type VI, Wicklewold provided the names of four Dunwich moneyers, and so it would not be surprising to find a new moneyer such as Paen operating in type II.

Before the discovery of the Wicklewold (Norfolk) hoard in 1989, the coins now given to Dunwich had generally been attributed to Durham (*Dunholm*), although Peter Seaby had already tentatively suggested the reattribution. The 1989 hoard provided very persuasive find evidence for the mint being East Anglian, and the mint signature on the present coin with the full '-wic' ending provides welcome written confirmation.

M.A.S.B./J.N.

184. Stephen, Cross Fleury type, *BMC* VI, North 879, Dunwich, moneyer Henri.  
*Obv.* +STIEFNE  
*Rev.* +HENRI:ON:DVNE  
Weight: 1.28g (19.8gr). Die-axis: 135°.  
Cranwich, Norfolk, site 1039/c. M/d find, February 1997.

J.A.D.

185. Stephen, Cross Fleury type, *BMC* VI, North 879, mint and moneyer uncertain.  
Weight: 1.30g (20.0gr).  
South Creak, Norfolk, site 1958. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D.

186. Stephen, Cross Pommée type, *BMC* VII, North 881, Bedford, moneyer Iohan.  
*Rev.* +IOH[ ]N[ ]JEDE[ ]  
Weight: 1.02g (15.8gr). Die-axis: 180°.  
Saxted, near Framlingham, Suffolk. M/d find by Mr N. Grey, August 1997.

Shown at BM, November 1997. The only other specimen to date was discovered at Bottisham, Cambs. (see note to *BNJ* 64 (1994), Coin Register no. 281, a *BMC* VI of Iohan of Bedford). Sold Dix Noonan Webb, 26 November 1997, 117. Photograph by courtesy of Patrick Finn.

P.J.P.-M.

187. Stephen, Cross Pommée type, *BMC* VII, North 881, London, moneyer Hamund.  
*Rev.* [ ]HAM[ ]ON:L[ ]  
Weight: 0.92g (14.2gr). Die-axis: 0°.  
Narborough, Norfolk, site 33306. M/d find, January 1998.

J.A.D.

188. Stephen, Cross Pommée type, *BMC* VII, North 881, mint uncertain, moneyer Rodbert?  
*Rev.* +ROD[ ]ON:[ ]  
 Weight: 1.21g (18.6gr), incomplete. Die-axis: 225°.  
 West Acre, Norfolk. M/d find, March 1997.

J.A.D.

189. Stephen, Cross Pommée type, *BMC* VII, North 881, mint and moneyer uncertain.  
 Weight: not recorded.  
 Irnham Hall, Lincolnshire. M/d find by A. Watkins, September 1994, during rally.  
 (Not illustrated.)

E.W.D.

190. Stephen, cut halfpenny, Cross Pommée type, *BMC* VII, North 881, mint and moneyer uncertain.  
 Weight: 0.51g (7.9gr), clipped.  
 Little Hockham, Norfolk. M/d find, January 1998.

J.A.D.

191. Henry II, Tealby type, bust A, uncertain mint, moneyer Rogier?  
*Rev.* +ROG(?)[ ]ON:[ ]  
 Not weighed.  
 Carnaby, East Riding of Yorkshire. M/d find by M. Cropp, before June 1997.

C.P.B.

192. Henry II, Tealby type, cut halfpenny, bust A?, uncertain mint (Hereford or Northampton?), moneyer Stefne.  
*Rev.* [ ]EFNE ON[ ]  
 Weight: 0.50g (7.7gr).  
 Salle, Norfolk. M/d find, November 1997.

J.A.D.

193. Henry II, Tealby type, bust D?, Canterbury, moneyer Wiulf?  
*Rev.* +W[ ]ON:CAN[ ]  
 Weight: 1.37g (21.1gr). Die-axis: 0°.  
 Fincham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D.

194. Henry II, Tealby type, class D or E, North 958-60, Ipswich, moneyer Nicole.  
*Obv.* [ ]HENR[ ]  
*Rev.* [ ]NICOLE[ ]  
 Weight: not recorded.  
 Badingham, Suffolk (site recorded on Suffolk SMR). M/d find, 1997.

M.A.S.B./S.M./J.N.

195. Henry II, Tealby type, bust E, North 960, mint and moneyer uncertain.  
 Weight: not recorded.  
 Copston Magna, Warwickshire. M/d find by Mr M. Miles, Autumn 1996.

D.J.S./P.J.W.

196. Henry II, Tealby type, class E or F (?), North 960-1, mint starting with L (London, Lincoln, or Lewes), moneyer uncertain.

*Rev.* [ ]N[ ]:L[ ]  
 Weight: 1.45g (22.4gr), broken.  
 Derby. M/d find, 1997.

S.M.

197. Henry II, Tealby type, no bust (rev. brockage), London, moneyer Pieres.  
*Rev.* +PERES[ ]VND:  
 Weight: 1.38g (21.3gr).  
 Shelton, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D.

198. Henry II, Tealby type, mint and moneyer uncertain.  
*Obv.* illegible (worn): the coin has been folded with *obv.* outwards  
*Rev.* [ ]LRA[ ]  
 Weight: 1.23g (18.9gr), broken but complete.  
 Little Barningham, Norfolk, site 31861. M/d find, January 1997.

J.A.D.

199. Henry II, Tealby type, mint and moneyer uncertain.  
 Weight: 0.51g (7.8gr), fragments.  
 Elmhurst, Staffs. M/d find by Mr A.J. Southwell, winter 1997/98.  
 (Not illustrated.)

D.J.S./A.B.

200. Henry II, Tealby type, North 952-61, mint and moneyer uncertain.  
*Rev.* [ ]ND:O[ ]  
 Weight: not recorded.  
 Brundish, Suffolk (site recorded on Suffolk SMR). M/d find, 1997.

M.A.S.B./S.P.D./J.N.

201. Henry II, Tealby type, North 952-61, mint and moneyer uncertain.  
 Weight: 0.8g (12.3gr), chipped.  
 Combs, Suffolk. M/d find, 1997.

S.M./J.N.

202. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, class C irregular variety, North 956-8 var., mint and moneyer uncertain.  
 Weight: not recorded.  
 Brundish, Suffolk (site recorded on Suffolk SMR). M/d find, 1997.

Although the inscriptions are illegible and little of the bust can be made out, the very distinctive cross and crosslets, narrow and without serifs, enable the coin to be attributed to a small group of so-called 'irregular' coins within class C. These are discussed by Allen in *BMC* Henry II, p. xxvi and illustrated on pl. XIV, 19 and pl. XV, 1-2. It is not possible to tell whether this coin has the thin inner circle on the obverse characteristic of this group.

M.A.S.B./S.P.D./J.N.



203. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, bust C-E, North 956-60, London, moneyer Edmund.  
*Rev.* +ED[ ]VN:  
 Weight: 0.60g (9.2gr). Die-axis: 0°.  
 Bascote, Warwickshire. M/d find by Mrs M. Horne, autumn 1996.

D.J.S./P.J.W.

204. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, a late specimen (bust D-F), mint and moneyer uncertain.  
 Weight: 0.43g (6.6gr).  
 Streethay, Staffs. M/d find by Mr A.J. Southwell, 1997.

D.J.S./A.B.

205. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, mint and moneyer uncertain.  
 Weight: 0.59g (9.1gr).  
 Ilketshall St Margaret, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D.

206. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, mint and moneyer uncertain.  
 Weight: 0.54g (8.3gr).  
 Narborough, Norfolk, site 3942. M/d find, January 1997.

J.A.D.

207. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, mint and moneyer uncertain.  
 Weight: not recorded.  
 Castle Camps, Cambs. M/d find, 1997. Photo 115% of scale.

S.M./J.N.

208. Henry II, cut halfpenny, Tealby type, mint and moneyer uncertain.  
 Weight: 0.51g (7.8gr).  
 Reepham/Kerdiston, Norfolk. M/d find, January 1997.  
 (Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

209. Henry II, cut farthing, Tealby type, bust C-E, North 956-60, northern mint (probably Willem of Carlisle or Newcastle).  
*Rev.* [ ]LEM[ ]  
 Weight: 0.30g (4.6gr).  
 Warwick. M/d find by Mr S.D. Taylor, March 1996.

D.J.S./P.J.W.

210. Henry II, cut farthing, Tealby type, Mint and moneyer uncertain.  
 Weight: 0.32g (5.0gr).  
 Congham, Norfolk, site 3565. M/d find, January 1997.  
 (Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

211. Henry II, cut farthing, Tealby type, Mint and moneyer uncertain.  
 Weight: 0.25g (3.8gr).  
 Merton, Norfolk. M/d find, June 1997.  
 (Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

212. Henry II, cut farthing, Tealby type, uncertain class (not A), North 953-61, mint and moneyer uncertain.  
*Obv.* chin and mantle of facing bust.  
*Rev.* [ ]:O[ ]  
 Weight: not recorded.  
 Badingham, Suffolk (site recorded on Suffolk SMR).  
 M/d find, 1997.

M.A.S.B./S.M./J.N.

213. 'Charles I', counterfeit crown, 'Exurgat' type dated 1644.  
*Obv.* corroded  
*Rev.* RELG(sic)PROT I LE AN LI PA | 1644  
 Weight: 10.23g, 'clipped'; silver plated on a copper alloy.  
 Southam, Warwicks. M/d find by Mr S. Gaskins, summer 1996.

This is at first sight a straightforward plated counterfeit, copying a 'Declaration' half crown of Bristol type. However since its silver coating is intact on the edges, the apparent clipping and wear are likewise false. Perhaps its issuer passed the coin at a discount, relying on the 'clipping' to distract attention from the coin's innate falseness. Since the coin copies a worn and clipped original, a Civil War association is unlikely and the design does not help to pinpoint its origin.

D.J.S./P.J.W./E.M.B.

#### Continental sterling

214. Brabant, John II the Pacific (1294-1312), Antwerp.  
 Weight: 0.95g (14.6gr).  
 Wisbech, Cambridgeshire. M/d find by R. Bickers, before November 1997.

C.P.B.

215. Hainaut, John of Avesnes (1280-1304), Mons, Mayhew 34.  
 Weight not recorded.  
 Barham, Suffolk. M/d find, 1997.  
 (Not illustrated.)

S.P.D./J.N.

216. Cambrai, Bishop Gui of Collemède (1296-1306), Mayhew 98/99.  
 Weight: 1.24g (19.1gr).  
 Hillington, Norfolk, site 17441. M/d find, September 1997.

J.A.D.

217. 'Enigmatic' type, cf. Mayhew 142.  
 Weight: 0.84g (12.9gr).  
 Chelmsford, near, Essex. M/d find, 1997.

M.J.C.

218. Flanders, Robert of Béthune (1305-22), Alost, Mayhew 214.  
 Weight: 1.29g (19.9gr).  
 Surlingham, Norfolk.  
 (Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

219. Yves, Gaucher of Chatillon (1313–22), Mayhew 248.  
Weight not recorded.  
Haverhill, Suffolk. M/d find, 1997.  
(Not illustrated.)

S.P.D./J.N.

220. Luxembourg, John the Blind (1309–46), Mayhew 274.  
Weight: 0.93g (14.4gr).  
Wenhaston, Suffolk.  
(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

221. Namur, William I (1337–91), Mayhew 361.  
Weight: 0.95g (14.6gr).  
Oxborough, Norfolk, site 20625. M/d find, March 1997.  
(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

222. Namur, William I (1337–91), Mayhew 361–3.  
Weight: 1.08gr (16.6gr).  
Narford, Norfolk. M/d find, 1996.  
(Not illustrated.)

J.A.D.

223. Blundered, English or Continental forgery, cf. *SCBI* 39, 1244.  
Weight: 1.29g (19.9gr).  
Monks Kirby, Warwickshire. M/d find, summer 1996, now Warwickshire Museum N6442.

D.J.S./P.J.W.

#### European coins

224. France, Philip II (1180–1223), denier parisis, Arras, 2nd type, Duplessy 168.  
Weight: not recorded.  
Cowbridge, area, Vale of Glamorgan. M/d find, c. 1997.  
(Not illustrated: photo in *Treasure Hunting*, April 1998, p. 58.)

E.M.B.

225. France, Louis VIII or IX (1123–70), denier tournois.  
Weight: 0.76g.  
Monks Kirby, Warwickshire. M/d find by Mr M. Miles, March 1995.

D.J.S./P.J.W.

226. France, Philip IV (1285–1314), denier tournois à l'O long, Duplessy 225.  
Weight: 0.72g, incomplete.  
Tattersett, Norfolk. M/d find, December 1996.

J.A.D.

227. France, Philip IV, double tournois, Duplessy 229.  
Weight: 0.81g; punched through centre.  
Wenhaston, Suffolk. M/d find, April 1997.

J.A.D.

228. France, Charles, VI or VII (1380–1460), blanc.  
Weight: not recorded (clipped, cut half).  
Brailes, Warwickshire. M/d find by Mr E.J. Warren, October 1996.  
(Not illustrated.)

D.J.S./P.J.W.

229. France, Henri VI (1422–53), blanc aux écus, Lafaurie 449, Elias 285a or 287, Le Mans or Rouen mint.  
Weight: 2.21g, chipped.  
Great Wratting, Suffolk. M/d find, 1997.

S.P.D./J.N.

230. Germany, Otto-Adelheid penny, c. 983/91–1040, Hatz class IV-1-b or IV-5-g/i.  
*Obv.* [ ] GR[ ], cross with letter ODDO in angles, with dots under the Os.  
*Rev.* [ ] AHLH[ ], church with a pellet on each side.  
Weight: 1.13g. Die-axis: 50°. Pecked (*obv.* 6/*rev.* 2).  
East Anglia. M/d find, 1996. Information courtesy Dr and Mrs M Phillips, who have presented it to the Fitzwilliam Museum (CM.818.1996).

Other Otto-Adelheid pennies found in England: 1. Coin Register 1995, no. 260; 2. below no. 231. The pecking on two of them shows that they had circulated in Scandinavia or the southern Baltic before arriving in England.

M.A.S.B./J.C.M.

231. Germany, Otto-Adelheid penny, c. 983/91–1040, Hatz class III or IV (var. retrograde).  
*Obv.* +D[ ] X, cross with letters ODDO in angles (first D on its face) (all retrograde).  
*Rev.* (three pellets, not attached to the church) AT[ ] (retrograde legend) church with vertical lines and a pellet in the middle. No adjacent symbols visible.  
Weight and die-axis not recorded. Appears to be pecked (*obv.* at least 2/*rev.* at least 5, examined on photo only).  
Blythe, near Worksop, Notts. M/d find, late 1994.

The site has produced three other coins, reported as 1. Æthelred II, Crux type, Dover; 2. id., Long Cross type, Leicester; 3. cut or broken half of unknown type and reign.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

232. Germany, Frederick II (1212–50), sterling, Berghaus 69, Dortmund.  
*Obv.* REX FRIDER[ ] S  
*Rev.* ROMANVS-REXI  
Weight: 1.32g.  
Redenhall with Harleston, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D./B.J.C.

233. Teutonic Order, Winrich von Kniprode (1351–82), vierling, Bahrfeldt 132.  
Weight: 0.48g.  
Whissonsett, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D./B.J.C.

234. Trier, Archbishop Johann II, Markgraf von Baden (1456–1503), Blanken, Noss 511, Koblenz.  
Weight: 2.06g.  
Mutford, Suffolk. M/d find, 1997.  
J.A.D./B.J.C.
235. Brandenburg-Franconia, Georg of Asbach and Albrecht the Younger of Bayreuth, Taler 1539, Schwabach, Schulten 218.  
Weight: 28.61g.  
West Runton, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.  
J.A.D./B.J.C.
236. Holland, Floris V (1256–96), denier (köpfchen), Dordrecht.  
Weight: not recorded.  
Cowbridge area, Vale of Glamorgan. M/d find, c. 1997.  
(Not illustrated: photo in *Treasure Hunting*, April 1998, p. 58.)  
E.M.B.
237. Flanders, petit denier, c. second half of 13th century, cf. Ghysens 488–9?  
*Obv.* fleur de lys on shield.  
*Rev.* L-I-L-A in angles of cross potent.  
Weight: 0.4g.  
Warwick, south-east of town. M/d find by Mr S.D. Taylor, October 1996.  
(Not illustrated.)  
D.J.S./P.J.W.
238. Flanders, Philippe le Hardi (1384–1405), double gros.  
Weight: 3.27g, incomplete.  
East Rudham, Norfolk, site 30761. M/d find, 1997.  
J.A.D./B.J.C.
239. Flanders, Charles the Bold (1467–77), double patard, Bruges.  
Weight: not recorded.  
Balsall Common, West Midlands. M/d find by Mr S.D. Taylor, autumn 1995.  
(Not illustrated.)  
D.J.S./P.J.W.
240. Brabant, John I (1261–94), cut half sterling (brabantinus), Walt.  
Weight: 0.36g (5.5gr), clipped.  
Mendham, Suffolk.  
J.A.D./B.J.C.
241. Brabant, Charles the Bold (1467–77), double patard.  
Weight: 2.64g.  
Foxley, Norfolk, site 31561. M/d find, February 1997.  
(Not illustrated.)  
J.A.D.
242. Brabant, Charles the Bold (1467–77), double patard.  
Weight: 2.82g.
- Sculthorpe, Norfolk, site 31646. M/d find, September 1997.  
(Not illustrated.)  
J.A.D.
243. Brabant, Albert and Isabella (1598–1621), quarter patagon, Antwerp, second coinage, 1612–21, Van Gelder and Hoc 313-1.  
Weight: 6.80g.  
Repps with Bastwick, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.  
J.A.D./B.J.C.
244. Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella (1497–1516), half real, uncertain mint.  
Weight: 1.60g.  
Bradenham, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.  
(Not illustrated.)  
J.A.D.
245. Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella (1497–1516), half real, uncertain mint.  
Weight: 1.00g.  
Fornett, Norfolk, site 31949. M/d find, 1997.  
(Not illustrated.)  
J.A.D.
246. Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella (1497–1516), half real, Seville.  
Weight: 1.19g, holed.  
Hillington, Norfolk, site 17441. M/d find, October 1997.  
(Not illustrated.)  
J.A.D./B.J.C.
247. Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella (1497–1516), half real, uncertain mint.  
Weight: 1.33g.  
Kelling Norfolk. M/d find, March 1997.  
(Not illustrated.)  
J.A.D.
248. Portugal, John I (1385–1433), copper real preto, Porto.  
Weight: 1.00g.  
Postwick, Norfolk, site 31762. M/d find, December 1997.  
J.A.D./B.J.C.
249. Portugal, John IV (1640–56), half-tostao  
*Obv.* IOANN[ES] IIII DG[REGIS] POR, 5 shields.  
*Rev.* IN HOC. SIGNO. VIN. CE, cross.  
Weight: 2.47g.  
Eaton Socon, Cambs. M/d find, 1997. Information supplied by Christ Montague.  
M.A.S.B.
250. Portugal, John V (1706–50), gold quartinho, 1717, Lisbon.  
Weight: 2.48g.  
Tattersett, Norfolk, site 31589. M/d find, October 1997.  
Portuguese gold appears to have circulated widely in

England and Wales during the eighteenth century, this at 6s 9d.

J.A.D.

251. Italy, Lucca, Conrad II (1024–39), silver denaro, Matzke in *SNR* 72 (1993), pl. 2, 19 or possibly an imitation. *Obv.* illegible legend; developed OTTO monogram, in a beaded circle

*Rev.* +CN[V?]NRADVS (square C, small unbarred A, S on side) starting at 3 o'clock, LV I CA in two lines (L retrograde), pellet in centre

Weight: 0.70g.

Dunmow and Braintree, between, Essex. Found during gas pipe work, c. 60cm below ground, 1994/5.

Identified by Michael Matzke. Another denaro of Lucca was found at Oxborough, Norfolk (Coin Register 1994, no. 362).

J.C.M./M.J.B.

252. Italy, Bologna, silver grosso, second half of 15th century. Weight: 0.74g, broken half coin.

Tattersett, Norfolk, site 32603. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D./B.J.C.

253. Denmark, Eric of Pomerania (1396–1439), sterling, Galster 4, Lindahl 16–18 (*obv.*), 19 (*rev.*) (*NNA* 1955, pp. 78–9), mint of Næstved.

*Obv.* \*e[ ]CVS·Ref[ ]WeD (double annulet stops, cross. Weight: 0.58g (9.0gr), slightly chipped. Die-axis: 45°. Mablethorpe, area, Lincs. M/d find before May 1996.

M.J.B./J.C.M.

254. Russia, silver denga, 16th–17th century.

Weight: 0.32g.

Corpusty, Norfolk. M/d find, 1997.

J.A.D./B.J.C.

#### *Seventeenth-century token*

255. Wycombe (Chepping), copper alloy halfpenny of Thomas Butterfeild, nd; BW -, cf. Bucks 157; Manton 199 in *BNJ* 20 (1929/30), at pp. 190–2; Berry, in *Records of Bucks* 18 part 2 (1967), p. 154; Berry and Morley 212, in *BNJ* 43 (1973), pp. 105, 110, 117.

Weight: 0.76g. Die-axis: 180°.

West Wycombe, Bucks. M/d find by Mr F. Freeman, early 1997. Now private collection (G.B.).

The locality is spelled 'Wickham', and the issuer is not securely documented; his farthing was included only in the Addenda to *SCBI* 31, no. 830, on the basis of a find.

(Not illustrated.)

R.H.T./G.B.

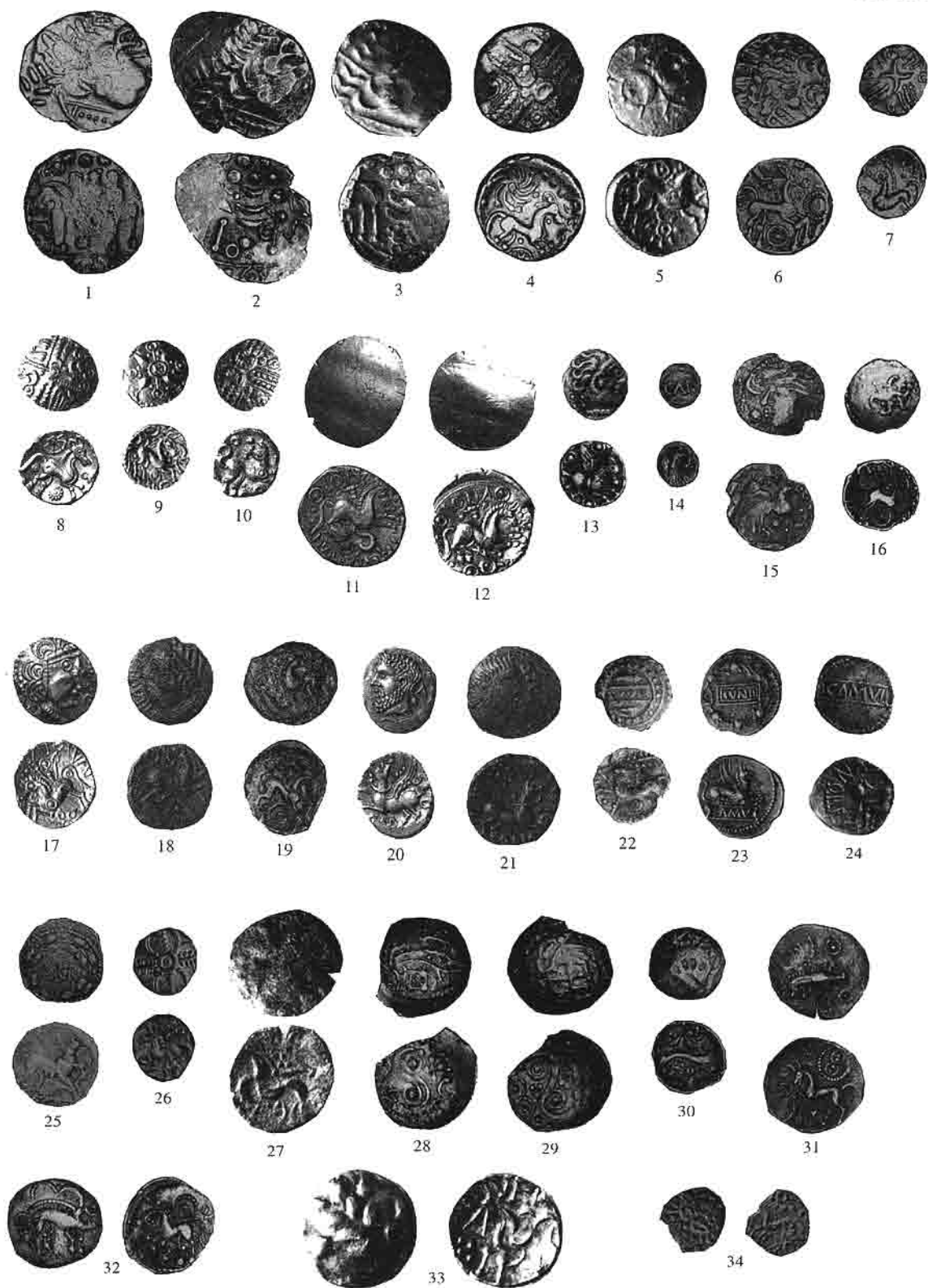
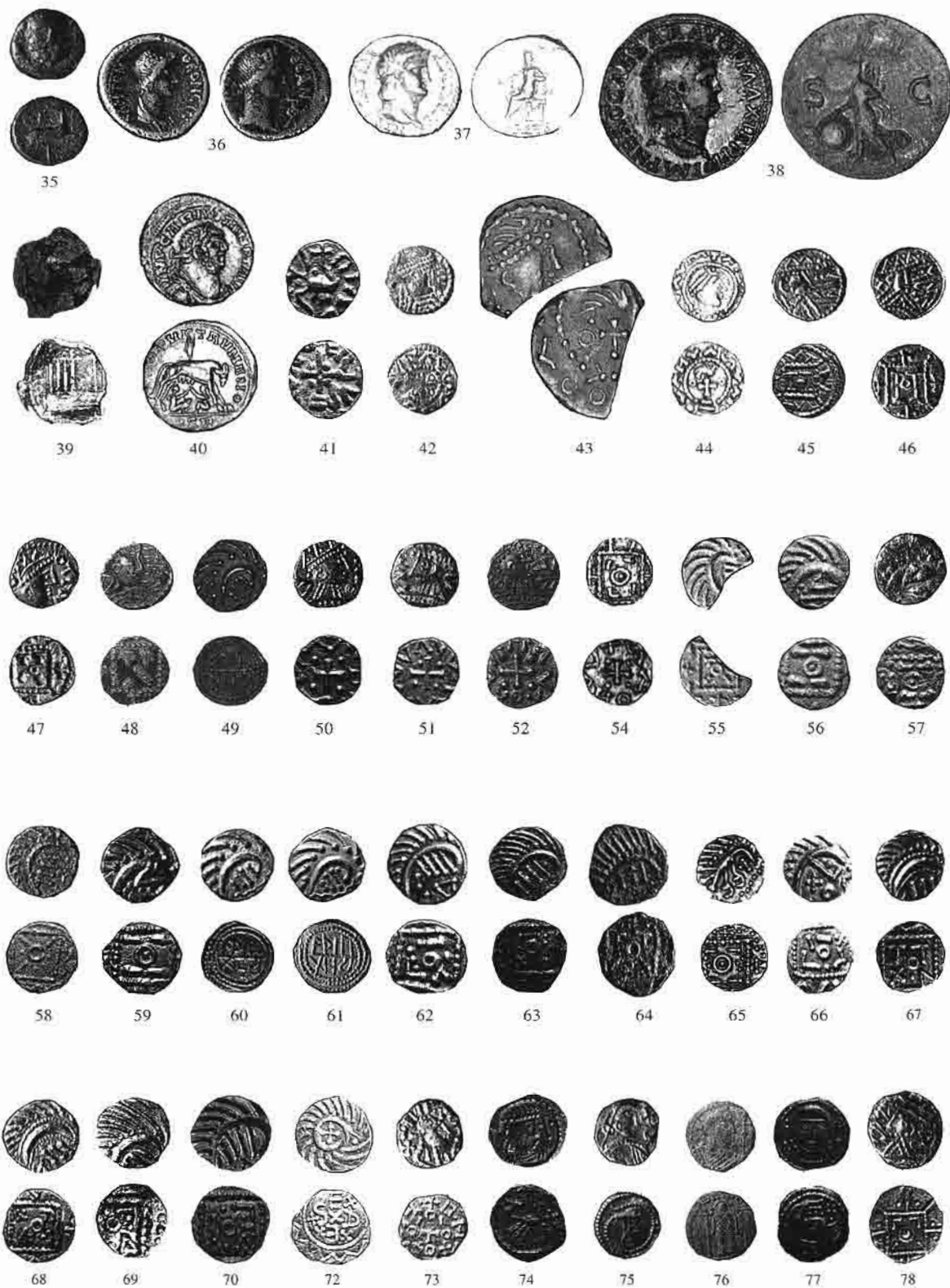
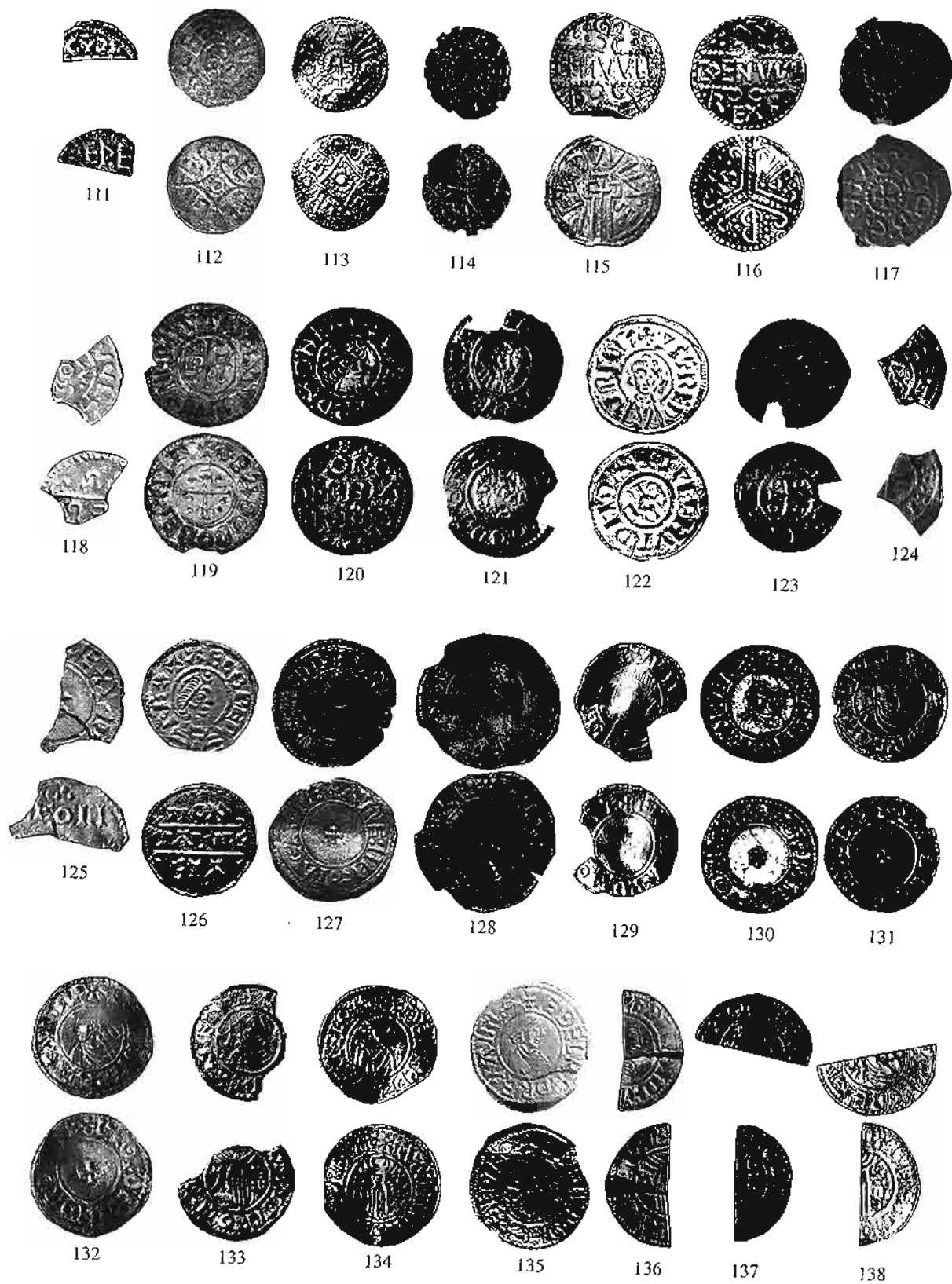




PLATE 26







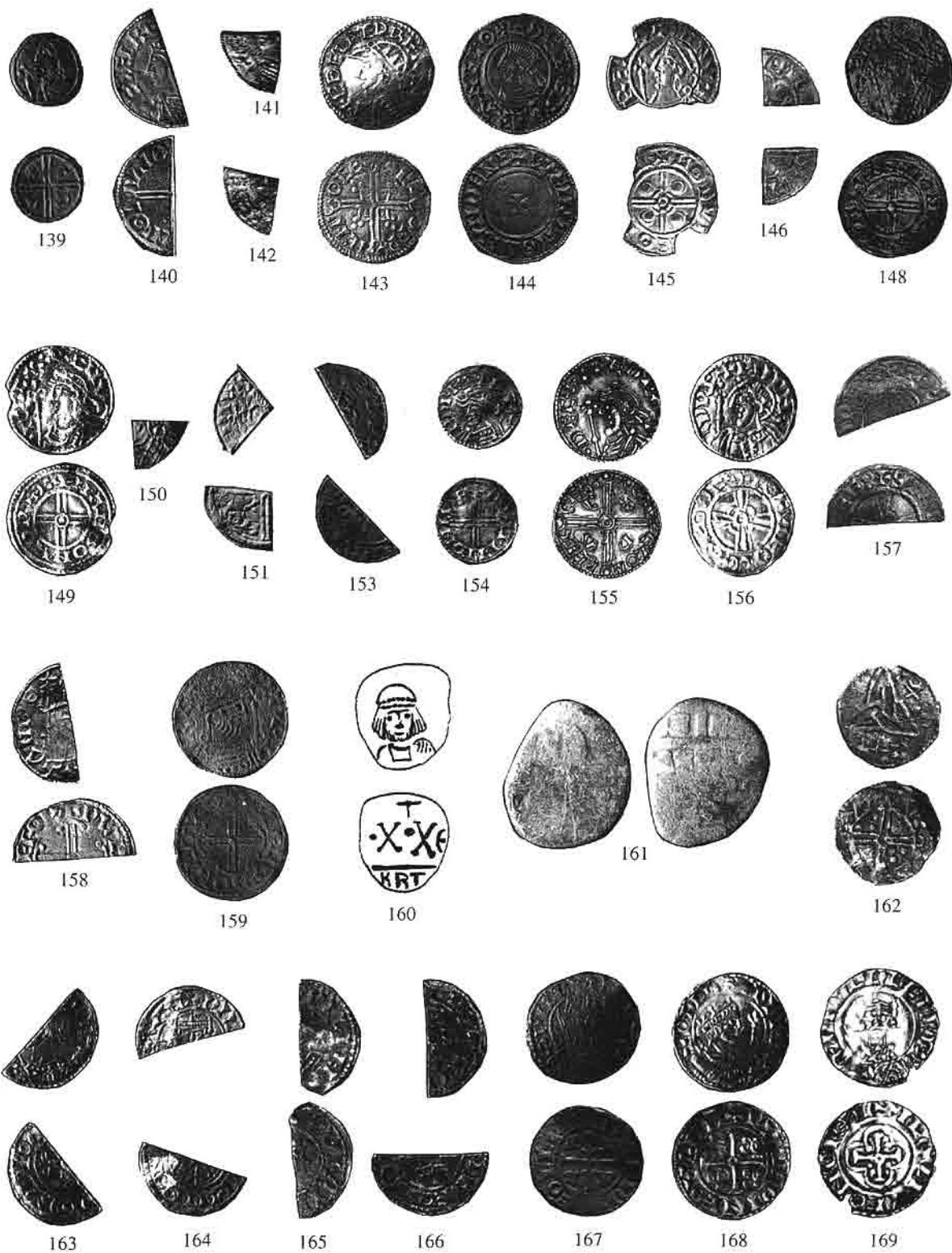
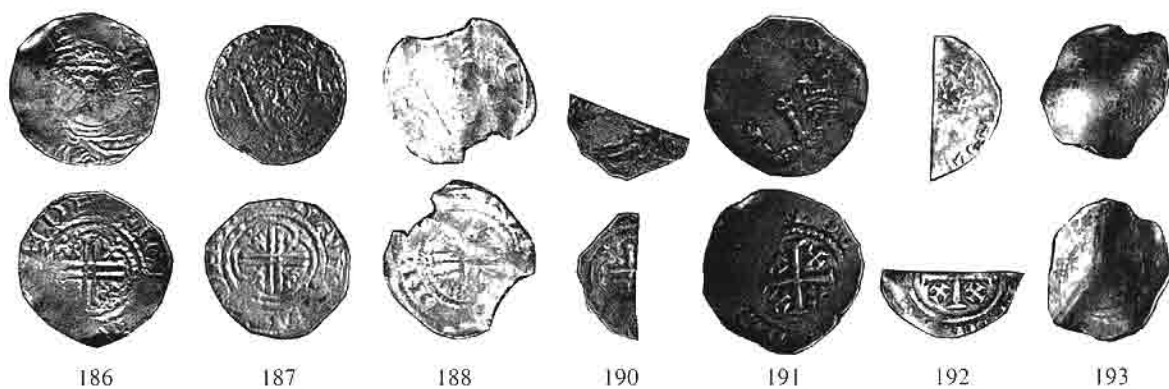
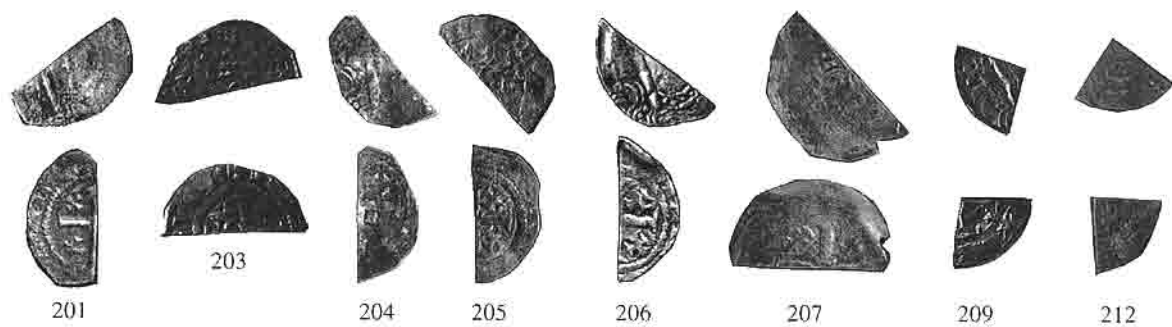
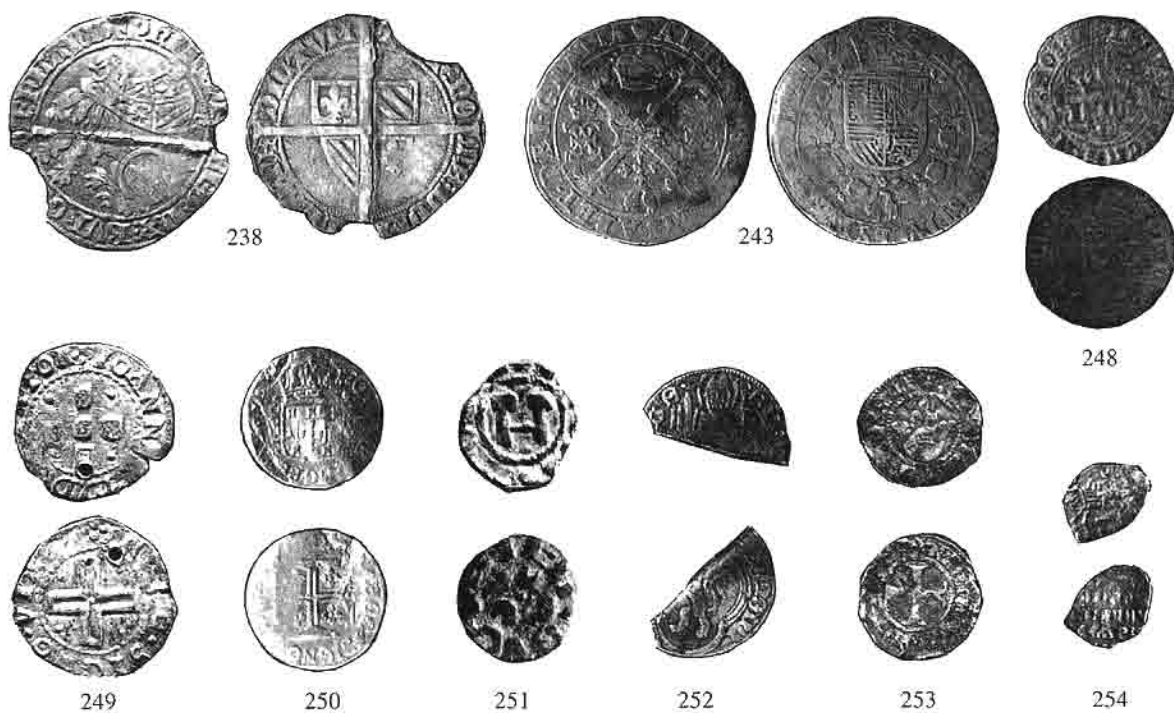


PLATE 30









COIN REGISTER 1997 (8)



WILLIAMS: JACOBAN HOARD

## REVIEWS

*Coinage in Iron Age Armorica*, by P. de Jersey (Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 39, Studies in Celtic Coinage 2, 1994), 266 pages, 29 maps

PHILIP de Jersey's book on the Iron Age coins of Armorica is, in many ways, a model of its kind. Developed from his 1992 Oxford D. Phil. thesis, it represents one of the fullest surveys of any series of Iron Age coinage available in any language. Writing as one who is currently undertaking the publication of the British Museum's collection of these coins, this reviewer can say from first-hand experience that this is both a splendid aid to improving one's limited knowledge of the wide and potentially confusing variety of types from this Continental series, and a judiciously cautious guide to their interpretation.

De Jersey begins by introducing us to what is known about the Iron Age context within which these coins circulated. Useful pages on the ancient physical environment and political boundaries of the region and the recent history of archaeological and antiquarian research add greatly to the value of the book as a whole. Too seldom does numismatic research pay much more than lip-service to the idea of 'putting the coins in context'. In the past, this was largely because the questions of how coins developed and how they were used in any particular place or period were either not regarded as issues requiring discussion or as ones on which contextual information had nothing important to say. Neither of these are tenable opinions nowadays. The more information we recover about Iron Age coinage, particularly good quality information with a secure context, the less certain many of our most cherished assumptions appear to be.

De Jersey is dealing with a region where the contextual evidence is minimal owing to a relative lack of directed archaeological research, as he explains in the introduction. But he succeeds both in making the most of what little there is and, mostly, in avoiding the tendency wilfully to shoe-horn the numismatic evidence into those pseudo-historical schemata which have restricted previous chronologies and explanations: from Colbert de Beaulieu's Arvernian hegemony hypothesis which, apparently, still holds sway in many a recent French work, to the explanatory tyranny of the Gallic War, a period which is comparatively so dense in seemingly factual information about the late Iron Age Gaul and Armorica that it exerts a magnetic attraction on numismatists, both Continental and Insular, and leads them to try to date as much of their material as possible in relation to it.

Yet de Jersey does seem to be persuaded of the significance of the Gallic War as a general *terminus post quem non* for the production and circulation of most of the series he deals with. This notion seems to

rest on the following positions: that the coinages of Armorica were not employed in commercial exchange and were used primarily to pay soldiers and act as a store of wealth; and that the Roman conquest so disrupted these indigenous patterns of behaviour that coin-production and use among the Gauls ceased as a consequence, there being no more soldiers to pay or wealth to store. It is clear that the Iron Age coinage tradition petered out in this area of Gaul during the late first century BC, but whether this was directly because of the violent events of the Gallic War or a second-stage development of the post-Conquest period is not. It is not disputed that indigenous coinages continued to be produced after the conquest in Belgic Gaul. But these coinages are now commonly, and rather restrictively, interpreted as having been produced to pay Roman troops and Gallic auxiliaries in Belgica where there was continued military activity. The military construction placed on Gallic coinage in the post-Conquest period is no more than an explanatory hypothesis and in itself cannot be used as an argument to provide a conclusive date for the end of Armorican coinage.

This is not just a matter of a few years either way. It involves important questions of interpretation, which the author does address. He rightly counters the unreflective view that coinage is always and everywhere to be understood as a means of commercial or market exchange. In its place, however, he sometimes tends to lean too heavily on Daphne Nash's and Barry Cunliffe's 'centre-and-periphery' model of the development of late Iron Age Gaulish societies (the classic statement of which is to be found in Cunliffe's 1988 book *Greeks, Romans and Barbarians: Spheres of Interaction*) as a means of imputing non-economic meaning to the coinage. Measuring Armorican society and coin-use against a scale of social complexity and political centralisation along which, at some point, coinage becomes more like Dalton's 'all-purpose' money and less like his 'primitive valuables', is problematic, as it assumes that there is a single scale of development along which all Iron Age societies and their coinages moved and can be placed. This, however, is an assumption that is implicit in world-systems theory and, though de Jersey shows that he is aware of the need to take regional variation into account (p. 24), he does not manage to break free from the conceptual bonds imposed by the theory. The author admits in the conclusion that the contextual evidence which would allow us to assess the social structures of Armorican society is generally lacking, but also suggests that their position on the periphery relative to the band of 'semi-peripheral' so-called archaic states among the tribes of Gaul situated next to the Roman province of Narbonensis makes it 'unreasonable to expect the societies of the of the [sic] peripheral areas to have

developed to the same extent.' (p. 127). Theories and models should only serve to make sense of the existing evidence, and not to fill the inevitable gaps in our knowledge.

To turn to the more strictly numismatic aspects of the book, the coins are arranged into three major phases of development rather than plotted along a strictly chronological axis. This is reasonable as precise dating is unattainable and, in the field of Iron Age coinage, usually misguided and distorting. Each type is surveyed in detail and accompanied by a gazetteer of known findspots and a distribution map. There is also a list of known hoards and temple deposits from Armorica. The maps are extremely useful as a means of orientating oneself within an unfamiliar region and liberating one's understanding of the coinage from those persistent tribal attributions. One knows they are wrong, or at least limiting, but does not quite know what else to do to make some sense out of the variety of different coinage traditions. De Jersey is rightly sceptical about many of them. All these appendices betray extensive and meticulous research, as does the bibliography which is full of useful references (altogether, they take up 135 of the total 266 pages). The separation of all this material from the main body of the text makes the whole much more readable and usable. A considerable service has been done to numismatics and archaeology in bringing this material together in such an accessible and concise form.

The technical side of this work is, then, outstanding in its thoroughness and the manner of its presentation. The theoretical side is also innovative within the context of Iron Age numismatics. There is much here that can be agreed with. That is, however, in itself an excellent thing. It is rare to read a book that is both compendious and interesting. This one is both.

J.H.C. WILLIAMS

*British Iron Age Coins in the British Museum*, by Richard Hobbs, British Museum Press, 1996. 246pp., 137 plates. ISBN 0-7141-0876-6

RICHARD Hobbs' catalogue of British Iron Age coins is a welcome addition to the publications by the late Derek Allen of the British Museum's collection of continental Celtic coins.<sup>1</sup> Allen himself is given a

fitting tribute in the acknowledgements (p. 7): 'The completion of this catalogue would never have been possible without the work of the late Derek Allen... even two decades after his death, much of his basic organisation of the collection remains intact, simply because his insight into the layout and development of the British series remains unsurpassed'.

The introduction (pp. 9-46) includes a brief discussion of British Iron Age coins, together with a map of the principal hoards and site finds (p. 11), and tables setting out the denominations, metrology and metallurgy of the various coinage groups. This provides a good starting point for anyone wishing to obtain basic information about any particular coinage group. Reference is given to research already undertaken, and the bibliography cites further background material.

Chronology is a notoriously complicated and sometimes divisive issue. Hobbs provides a summary of some of the main problems and two figures (pp. 12-13, based partly on Haselgrove's work<sup>2</sup>), which offer an overview of the dating of the British coins; further details are given in the discussion of the regional coinage groups.

The index of sites (pp. 36-40) is placed at the end of the Introduction, rather than with the other indexes after the catalogue section. These sites are the provenanced coin groups (hoards, excavation site finds and temple deposits) in the British Museum collection; as mentioned earlier, there is also a map (p. 11) to which reference can be made. The index provides much useful information: as well as details of the site and circumstances of finding, it includes bibliographical references and the British Museum catalogue numbers of all coins from each site. It does not, however, include stray finds, and it would have been helpful to have been given a basic index of these.

Turning to the catalogue section, this is set out succinctly in sylloge format, with each coin illustrated in the high-quality plates at the back of the volume. A standard layout is followed, with bold section headings for broad coin type and denomination, followed by any contemporary forgeries. The type description includes a 'main design element', details of the exergual line, field objects and any inscription. There are references to Allen,<sup>3</sup> Evans,<sup>4</sup> Mack,<sup>5</sup> Van Arsdell,<sup>6</sup> and other published sources.

The obverse and reverse descriptions are supported

<sup>1</sup> Vol. I: *Silver Coins of the East Celts and Balkan Peoples*, edited by J. Kent and M. Mays (1987); Vol. II: *Silver Coins of North Italy, South and Central France, Switzerland and South Germany*, edited by J. Kent and M. Mays (1990); Vol. III: *Bronze Coins of Gaul*, edited by M. Mays (1995).

<sup>2</sup> C.C. Haselgrove, *Iron Age coinage in south-east England: the archaeological context* (BAR British Series 174, Oxford, 1987); 'The development of British Iron Age coinage', *NC* 153 (1993), 31-63.

<sup>3</sup> D.F. Allen, 'The origins of coinage in Britain: a

reappraisal', in *Problems of the Iron Age in Southern Britain* edited by S.S. Frere, (University of London Occasional Paper no. 11; London, 1960), pp. 97-308; and various other relevant publications.

<sup>4</sup> J. Evans, *The coins of the ancient Britons* (London, 1864) and *Supplement* (London, 1890).

<sup>5</sup> R.P. Mack, *The coinage of Ancient Britain* (3rd edn.; London, 1975).

<sup>6</sup> R.D. Van Arsdell, *Celtic Coinage of Britain* (London, 1989).

by meticulous line drawings and descriptions in the seven Symbols Plates and the corresponding Index of Symbols (pp. 229–34). The great advantage of this system is that any new coin type with a common field object such as a crescent or wheel may now be described without ambiguity, if it is among the symbols on the plates.

Each coin entry includes a unique British Museum catalogue number, weight in grams, registration number, source, provenance (when known) and any previous British Museum catalogue references. Of immense value is the presence of metallurgical analyses (with percentages of gold, silver and copper) where they have been performed. Published die-links are included in context, but die axes have not been recorded.

The catalogue is divided into nine main geographical sections (Early Uninscribed, Potin, The Southern Region, The Northern Region, The South-Eastern Region, The South-West, The West, The North-East and East Anglia), thus avoiding the traditional tribal attributions which have been shown to distort and confuse many issues. The contents of the catalogue, as listed on pp. 5–6, are detailed enough to enable one to locate the relevant section for most coins at first glance.

In addition to indexes for inscriptions and symbols, there is also a concordance (pp. 235–46) compiled by Derek Harrison, and revised by the author. This cross-references Van Arsdell,<sup>7</sup> Mack,<sup>8</sup> Allen,<sup>9</sup> and Evans<sup>10</sup> with the British Museum catalogue numbers, and it also refers to a few recent articles which cite specific types in the collection.

One of the interesting features of British Iron Age coins is the surge of new finds in the past twenty years or so.<sup>11</sup> This is borne out by the sources of the 4584 coins of the British Museum collection, which includes 1949 coins found in the last two decades from the temple deposits at Waltham St. Lawrence (Berks.) and Wanborough (Surrey), and the hoard from Field Baulk (Cambs.). While more coins and relevant archaeological evidence will undoubtedly come to light in the future, they will not detract from the value of this book, which records the essential details of coins in such a way as to be valid regardless of what framework they may later be placed in.

At the beginning of the introduction (p. 9), Hobbs states that the catalogue 'aims to put the study [of British Iron Age coins] on a solid base, which has been lacking to date, by providing a comprehensive, accurate, and fully indexed catalogue of the most important collection. Both the introductory sections and the catalogue listing aim to give a clear idea of what can be said and to what degree of certainty about the dating and attribution of British Iron Age coins'. These aims have been achieved admirably, and I have no

hesitation in recommending this book to all those who have a genuine interest in British Iron Age coins, as well as to those who would like to start exploring this field and are looking for an authoritative reference book.

MELINDA MAYES

*Thrymsas and Sceattas in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford*, by D.M. Metcalf, 3 vols., Royal Numismatic Society and Ashmolean Museum, RNS Special Publication no. 27, London, 1993–4. pp. xvi; vii; viii and, running consecutively through the three vols, pp. 685 and 28 plates.

THESE three volumes are the crowning achievement of Michael Metcalf's enduring interest in the earliest currencies of Anglo-Saxon England. He first brought order to one of its most intractable series more than thirty years ago and, despite fruitful excursions into a wide range of other periods and places, he has returned to the subject in many ground-breaking articles, and in particular as the principal contributor to the BAR publication on *Sceattas in England and on the Continent* which he co-edited with David Hill in 1984.

The title of the present work promises only the publication of the coins in the Ashmolean Museum, but the details of its 478 coins in fact form almost an appendix to a magisterial discussion of the entire series. It covers the Anglo-Saxon coins, which the author happily still calls by their succinct conventional names, issued from the early seventh to the mid-eighth century, together with the silver issues of Frisia and adjacent areas with which they were inextricably associated in English currency. The first volume deals with the increasingly-base gold coins, identifiable in the Anglo-Saxon laws as gold shillings and descended, via Merovingian issues, from late Roman light-weight tremisses. It also covers the primary series of silver coins of similar weight which are metrologically pennies but known as sceattas to distinguish the coins of this denomination on small thick flans from the later broader and thinner issues. The second deals with the continental series of silver sceattas mainly of the Intermediate period, with a few English derivatives, and the third with the later English secondary sceattas of increasingly lighter weight and baser silver.

The Oxford coins are described in sylloge fashion opposite plates of exceptional quality where each coin is shown in photographs twice life size. In addition to the usual information on provenance, weight etc., the percentage of the principal metal constituent is quoted for virtually all the gold, and for most of the silver coins. The analyses of the thrymsas are mostly by Dr Andrew Oddy of the British Museum, while those of

<sup>7</sup> Van Arsdell, as in n. 6.

<sup>8</sup> Mack, as in n. 5.

<sup>9</sup> Allen, as in n. 3.

<sup>10</sup> Evans, as in n. 4.

<sup>11</sup> As mentioned, for example, by Haselgrove (1993), as in n. 2, pp. 31–2.

the sceattas (and a few of the gold pieces) are from recent work by Dr J.P. Northover, superseding earlier pioneering results now overtaken by more refined techniques. The silver figures, reached by the same expert, using the same techniques and under the same conditions, present students for the first time with a large corpus of comparative data for a range of issues across the sceatta series. Northover gives full scientific details of all his analyses at the end of volume 3 where he and Metcalf also discuss the numismatic significance of the metrological results.

The Ashmolean Museum is pre-eminent in the number of gold thrymsas in its cabinet, eighty in all, largely as a result of the acquisition of the Crondall hoard, few of whose Anglo-Saxon types are duplicated elsewhere. Naturally, only the seventy-three English coins are included here; for the Merovingian tremisses, students must still consult the 1945 publication by Sutherland. It is a pity that the opportunity was not taken to illustrate all the Anglo-Saxon coins, as it would have taken only two extra plates in the comparatively slim first volume to show the English element in its entirety. Admittedly, the twenty-nine coins omitted are all die-duplicates of others on the plates, but those interested, for example, in manufacturing technique or secondary features such as test-marks (not mentioned in the descriptions) still have to rely on the dim plates made from casts in the hard-to-find 1945 monograph.

The Oxford sceatta collection, now totalling nearly 400 coins, has been transformed into a truly representative series by Metcalf's carefully-selected acquisitions, twenty-five by his own gift. Some have featured in the 'Coin Register' in our *Journal*, but many are previously unpublished. The cabinet is particularly strong in unusual varieties and in the coins falling outside the main alphabetical classification system which Metcalf has christened the 'eclectic' groups. Some coins are local finds, but most are provenanced widely from sites throughout England. Included is a representative group of coins from the Aston Rowant, Oxfordshire, hoard, and major series from the important 'productive' sites at Tilbury, Essex, Bawsey, Norfolk, and Caistor-by-Norwich. The coins from these most prolific sources are listed by catalogue number in the introductory section on the growth of the collection, but an index of all find-spots represented in the volumes would have been helpful.

Preceding the lists of Ashmolean Museum coins, the main text of each volume is a general survey of the coinages concerned based on material from all sources. The discussion follows the alphabetical order of types established by S.E. Rigold, with additional chapters on the eclectic groups distinguished by Metcalf himself. For each type, the author deals with typology, the foundation of all numismatic study, in great and illuminating detail. His keen eye identifies different styles and groupings, and then debates their meaning as either chronological or geographical pointers. Most importantly, he distinguishes substantive coins from imitations, the potential non-local origin of which

would otherwise confuse the evidence of distribution patterns. With his deep knowledge of both the coins and the literature, Metcalf sets out all the available evidence from site-finds and hoards, both English and continental, and guides the reader in a carefully weighed discussion, warning of the pitfalls, considering the interpretations of other students, as well as reviewing his own earlier opinions, before arriving at his present, often inevitably tentative, conclusions. The resulting text is not for beginners, or those seeking a quick check on mint attributions and dates. This is a complex subject with no easy solutions, and the discussion is dense, with many references to outside sources; to follow it fully requires close concentration, frequent checking back on previous sections and access to earlier numismatic literature. Currency considerations are specifically excluded by the introduction and art-historical connections are not stressed, although both are touched upon from time to time. These aspects have an important bearing on other aspects of the coinage, and would have merited fuller treatment, but have perhaps been reserved for another occasion.

The text is illustrated by hundreds of meticulous drawings made by the author himself which brilliantly capture the style of the originals. This is particularly welcome in the case of sub-divisions of the main types where the drawings are often labelled with the alphabetical sub-group for easy identification. As these volumes will long remain the standard work of reference on the series, it is unfortunate that none of the drawings are given a number by which they might be cited. Some, but not all, of the drawings have below them 'Fig.' with no number following, suggesting that a numbered scheme was envisaged at some stage, but later abandoned. (The histograms etc. in the metallurgy section are given fig. numbers.) In their absence, it may be proposed that a form of citation be adopted which gives the page number followed by the number of the coins or variety enumerating from the top left across and down to the bottom right of the page as in 'Metcalf p.348, 4'. Many of the coins drawn are metal-detector finds in private hands and not easily accessible, but it would have been useful if those which had passed into the other principal public collections, at least, could have been identified to assist future reference by students. Good drawings have the advantage of showing varieties much more clearly than photographs for identification purposes, but can never quite be a substitute for them in die-studies. While the eye of the artist can add to clarity by the omission of extraneous marks, it can also eliminate unrecognised vestiges of some significant feature.

The discussion of each type or alphabetical group is accompanied by a map showing find-spots. It is striking how much fuller these are than comparable maps even in the 1984 BAR volume, thanks largely to the recording and publication of detector finds. Archaeologists and others interested in particular localities will be disappointed to discover that the find-spots marked on the maps cannot be identified as there

is no index or gazetteer. All the place-names, or general areas, must have been to hand in order to create the maps, so it is a pity that these lists of locations under each type were not included as an appendix. Although it is not mentioned, it is possible that a find-index is being reserved for the volume on coin-rich sites now in preparation, of which Metcalf is the editor and principal contributor.

The enhanced distribution patterns have allowed more types to be securely located (as noted in the sections on particular volumes below) but, despite the large numbers of new finds, the distributions of many groups are hardly more strongly nucleated than they were. This is evidence of the velocity of circulation and lively internal trade in the pre-Viking age, but the distributions are less helpful than might have been hoped in the secure identification of regions of production, far less minting places. A case in point is Series J (the later bird-on-cross group) which the author attributes to York. Although there are a number of find-spots in Northumberland, the concentration does not seem strong enough to outweigh the difficulty in interposing a type very different in style between the similar issues of Aldfrith (685–704) and Eadberht (737–58), and also the abnormally widespread distribution of the type throughout England, at variance with that for Series Y, undoubtedly struck in York.

It is impossible in a short review to comment on all the many fresh insights these volumes contain, or to raise more than the occasional query, but a few points on each volume may be made in turn. Volume one begins with two introductory essays of unusual importance. The first on 'Where, when and how many' places the coinage in context and discusses common problems of interpretation. It is full of perceptive comments valid not only for the thrymsa and sceatta series but for numismatic studies generally. The second, entitled 'Coinage as a royal and episcopal prerogative before Offa's reform', tackles the core questions of the issuers and the organisation of the coinage, particularly difficult in a series which is almost entirely lacking in literate inscriptions. Metcalf is at his best here pulling together the different classes of evidence, and bringing to bear his wide experience of this and other coinages. His main thesis is that in England the coinage was, from the beginning, royal in a much more real sense than in Francia, and that we should not seek to impose what we know of the Merovingian arrangements on the English evidence. Some may feel that there is more in common than he would allow, but Metcalf has certainly set out the parameters in which the discussion can be carried forward.

It is worrying to find that the only regally-explicit coin known in the English series of this period, Metcalf regards as no more than 'tentatively' attributed to King Eadbald of Kent (616–40). Like Sutherland, he reads the personal name with the final letter as an 'eth', giving the name as 'Audvarlth'. The last letter is, in my view, a 'D' as the horizontal line extends from beyond the left side, right through it and out the other side, and is clearly a scribal contraction mark denoting the

omission of the genitive ending of the personal name agreeing with the title 'reges' (p. 41, not 'rex' as on p. 61) which follows it. Philological opinion has hitherto been that this name is an acceptable form for Eadbald in Frankish orthography. While certainty is not possible, it seems more reasonable, unless expert opinion on the name should change, to accept an attribution to the King of Kent rather than postulate an unknown. The precise weight given to this attribution is particularly important as, if it is secure, it provides the only internal and fixed date-bracket in the English thrymsa series. With literate inscriptions so rare, it is curious that the author does not even mention the minted Canterbury coin, reading EVSEBII MONITA / DOROVERNIS CIVITAS, in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, and probably the earliest extant Anglo-Saxon tremissis/thrymsa of them all.

The transition between the early Anglo-Saxon gold and silver coinages is not straightforward as the metrological evidence does not appear to be reflected in that of the typology. Metcalf classifies all the coins of Series Pa (the 'Padas') and Va (the Vanimundus group) which span the transition under the Primary Sceatta series. Some late Padas do contain no more gold than some sceattas, and the Northover analyses show that some coins which are normally described as sceattas occasionally contain unexpectedly high amounts of gold e.g. a coin of Primary Series A with 12 per cent. The earlier Padas may look virtually silver but, containing between 13 per cent and 20 per cent of gold, they are undoubtedly the higher denomination. Bearing in mind the variability in the alloy that was apparently tolerated, and the still relatively small number of analyses available, it might seem preferable to retain the traditional division until there is fuller evidence on which to reach a decision.

The Intermediate series covered in volume two is now on a much more secure footing thanks to Metcalf's own research and that which he has inspired in others. He considers the continental as well as the English evidence and is able to propose minting places, more or less confidently, for the major series. He confirms his revised view that all the substantive coins of Series E, the 'porcupine' sceattas, are continental, probably minted at Dorestadt, and argues that Series D (the 'continental runic' type) originated at Domburg, and Series G at Quentovic. His earlier attribution of Series X, the 'Wodan/Monster' type, to Denmark, once controversial, has been vindicated by more recent finds and now seems established. Series F (the so-called 'helmet' type), copied directly from a Frankish issue and formerly believed to be of continental origin, is attributed by Metcalf, with due caution, to Middle Anglia. This area is perhaps becoming rather surprisingly productive, and further provenances are badly needed.

The last and largest volume of the three deals with the English secondary series of sceattas when the volume of coinage has become much larger and its production more widespread. Metcalf uses the enlarged corpus created by new finds to define the major series more clearly and to distinguish contemporary from successive



varieties within them. Particularly notable is his ordering of Series L (London) and K (Kent). The 'eclectic' groups which Metcalf has defined are important beyond their numbers. He demonstrates that they are distinct series, not simply aberrant imitations, and regionally located like the major series. New finds have confirmed Metcalf's earlier identification of Series S (the female centaur group) with Essex, and has firmly placed Series Q (the bird/beast group) in Norfolk. Some former attributions, on the other hand, have had to be abandoned, the new evidence showing that Series G, formerly given to the South Saxons, is a continental issue probably from Quentovic, and that the hypothesis of a separate 'Hwiccan' coinage is no longer tenable.

The secondary runic coins of Series R have long been recognised as East Anglian from their unequivocal distribution pattern, but the primary runic coins of the same general type, Series C, have in recent years been attributed to Kent. Metcalf's map clearly differentiating the groups C and CZ from one another and from probably imitative coins is particularly instructive. Although the distribution of Series C is more diffused than Series R, it is still essentially East Anglian, the three Kentish provenances all being virtually coastal. Metcalf points out, however, the close stylistic association between Series C and the earlier and undoubtedly Kentish Series A. As style essentially defines die-cutter or die-cutting school rather than mint, the distribution evidence is perhaps the stronger. A primary sceatta coinage for East Anglia would also be the more plausible if the 'Constantine' type thrymsas with their distinct East Anglian distribution were attributed to Suffolk rather than to Medeshamstede (Peterborough) as Metcalf prefers. He is no doubt right, however, in his judicious comment that 'It would be prudent to reserve judgement, in a case where the arguments are so finely balanced'.

There are few certainties in the thrymsa and sceatta series and fellow-students will inevitably disagree with the author on particular points of interpretation, ironically basing their arguments on the rich mine of factual information and thought-provoking scholarship contained in these volumes. But further research and discussion are just what Professor Metcalf, with his customary generosity, will wish his great work to promote. He deserves our warm thanks and congratulations on a major advance in the study of yet another field of coinage.

MARION ARCHIBALD

*Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles 48. Northern Museums: Ancient British, Anglo-Saxon, Norman and Plantagenet Coins to 1279*, by James Booth. Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press and Spink & Son Limited, 1997, xiv + 293pp. inc. 64 photo plates.

It is now over 20 years since the excellent volume 21 of the *SCBI* series turned its spotlight on the early coins held in collections in Yorkshire. That volume concentrated on the coins in the collections of the Yorkshire Museum, Leeds City Museum and the

University of Leeds. James Booth has produced a complementary work which casts its net far wider and incorporates material housed in no fewer than thirty-two collections on both sides of the Pennines.

A total of 1942 pieces are described, the majority being illustrated on sixty-four plates. Many of the coins illustrated are held in major and well-known public museums, such as those at Manchester, Blackburn, Doncaster and Hull. Where less familiar collections were found to contain even small quantities of relevant material however, the author has ensured that they are also represented, with for example a scarce Offa/Eadberht penny from the Dales Countryside Museum being included.

The layout of the volume will be familiar to all users of the *SCBI* series, the bulk of the work being taken up with the catalogue and associated plates. In addition a useful index of hoards and single finds is provided, together with an index of collectors, dealers, donors and detectorists. Brief summaries are likewise provided of the collections represented, as is a substantial bibliography. A useful contribution has also been made by Martin Allen, in the form of an essay on the arrangement of Short Cross class III.

In compiling the volume, the author has brought together a wide range of provenanced material from across northern England. As one might expect, Northumbrian issues are well represented, with well over 500 specimens being illustrated and catalogued with reference where appropriate to *Coinage of the Kingdom of Northumbria*. In part as a result of several of the museums represented having acquired material from the Prestwich hoard, the volume is also strong in its coverage of later Norman pennies, including some 200 pieces from the reign of Stephen.

When reviewing *SCBI* 42 in this Journal (1995), John Davies rightly commented upon the difficulties of reviewing a volume which adheres to a proven and highly successful format. In compiling the present catalogue, James Booth has produced a work which fully lives up to the standards set by previous volumes in the series and which will doubtless prove to be of the greatest value not only to those studying the coinage of northern England, but also to all scholars working in the field of early English numismatics. The only serious criticism which may be made is that, at £80, the volume is far from cheap. In fairness however, it must be said that neither are the coins which it covers. Anyone finding themselves hesitating before committing themselves to purchasing this work would be well advised to recall the sage advice, 'buy the book before the coin'.

CRAIG BARCLAY

*Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles 45. Latvian Collections: Anglo-Saxon and Later British Coins*, by Tatjana Berga. Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press and Spink & Son Limited, 1996. x + 76pp. inc. 12 photo plates.

WHEN in 1978, Dr Mark Blackburn and the present reviewer visited Riga to see Anglo-Saxon coins in local

museums, the possibility of a Sylloge publication of that material seemed too unrealistic to be even worth mentioning. Now the situation has wholly changed: Sylloge volumes are being prepared for the collections of St. Petersburg and Tallinn, and a Riga volume of very good quality has already been published.

That this publication was to be the first of the three is not only due to the diligence of the author but also to the smallness of the material: there are only 272 coins in all, 155 of them (mostly without find provenances) in the City Museum of Riga and the rest divided between the Historical Museum and the Institute of History, both also situated in Riga. One coin is listed as belonging to a private collection. All the three institutions are given short presentations, and there is also a useful presentation of the written sources concerning the finds. The finds themselves are also presented: 14 Viking-Age hoards, with only 85 identifiable British coins; 25 excavation finds from cemeteries and hill-forts from the same period, with 67 coins; and 9 finds of later medieval coins. 'About 119' further coins are also said to have been found on Latvian territory but they are no longer available; some were lost during the last war.

The 'late' character of the East-Baltic finds of West-European coins is shown by the scarcity of Anglo-Saxon coins earlier than the Crux type of Æthelred II: in addition to a penny of Edgar, there are only two 'Hand' coins. In all, there are 82 coins of Æthelred, 72 of Cnut, 19 of Harold I and Harthacnut, 14 of Edward the Confessor and one of Harold II. The Norman kings are represented by 7 coins, the Plantagenets by 15, and there are also 9 English and 2 Scottish coins from the later medieval and Tudor period – mementoes from a time when Riga was one of the major ports in Europe.

As usual, there are a few Hiberno-Norse coins (3 from Dublin, one Hiberno-Manx) and a number of imitations (46). The imitations of the earlier types have also been noted by Brita Malmer in *The Anglo-Scandinavian Coinage c. 995–1020* (1997), although she has not included all of them in her catalogue. In most cases this is due to fragmentary condition, but a few of the imitations may be of Latvian origin, as is suggested by Berga. (They are discussed in her article 'Grobe Nachahmungen . . .' in *Sigtuna Papers*, edited by K. Jonsson and B. Malmer, Stockholm/London, 1990.) The concept of 'Anglo-Baltic imitations' thus apparently should be added to the numismatic vocabulary. One hopes to learn more about them in Berga's *Finds of Viking-Age Coins in Latvia* which is announced to be forthcoming in the Swedish series *Commentationes de nummis*.

As a curiosity can be mentioned the Crux penny (no. 15) which is clipped down to the inner circle. There are similar pieces in Oxford (*SCBI* 9, no. 510) and Helsinki (*SCBI* 25, no. 149), as was noted by Hugh Pagan in his review of the Helsinki Sylloge (*BNJ* 49, 1979, 129). A

further similar centre piece of Edgar or Edward the Martyr can be found in Liverpool (*SCBI* 29, no. 512) but other types of late Anglo-Saxon pennies do not seem to have been subjected to this kind of clipping. The fact that such pieces are known both from England and from different shores of the Baltic gives reason to suspect that the clipping was done in England.

Following the precedent of the Berlin volume (*SCBI* 36), the number of 'peccs' on the pre-Plantagenet coins has been noted in the catalogue. An even more conspicuous feature concerning the 'secondary individual data' is that more than 60 of the 272 coins have been worn as pendants, and there are several with broken edges, possibly caused by forcible removal of a suspension loop. According to the author, the widespread use of coins as ornaments reflects the underdevelopment of local 'monetary relations'. As regards the coin import, she notes that during the Viking Age coins entered Latvia mainly along the Daugava River and 'partly either from the north-east of ancient Russia via Pskov, or through Estonia'. If the find map on p. 7 is to be believed, the Pskov connection does not, however, seem to have been very significant.

The publication fills its purpose admirably, and here we must thank both the author and the editor. On one occasion, though, the (apparent) translation from another language has led to a curious statement: it is said that 'comprehensive data on finds of British coins coming from archaeological monuments' can be found in the publications of F. Kruse (1842) and I. Bähr (1850). I am not sure about Bähr, but the information contained in Kruse's felicitously named *Necrolivonica* from 1842 could better be called 'interesting' than 'comprehensive'.

Despite the poor condition of some of the coins, most of the photos are excellent. It is to be hoped that in this as well as in other respects the more extensive Russian and Estonian publications will maintain the same standard.

TUUKKA TALVIO

Brita Malmer, *The Anglo-Scandinavian Coinage c. 995–1020* (Commentationes de Nummis Saeculorum IX–XI in Suecia Repertis, Nova Series 9). 1997. Stockholm, The Royal Swedish Academy of Letters History and Antiquities. 361pp. 273 plates.

NUMISMATISTS in the last century described the imitations of Anglo-Saxon coins as 'monstrous products'. The crude characteristics of many of these coins have, of course, not changed, but they are no longer considered to be outcasts in the saga of early Scandinavian monetary history. On the contrary, they are now reckoned to be one of the major sources of our understanding of the monetary development which led to independent national coinages.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Denmark and Norway established national coinages in the 1060s and 1070s, while Sweden did not establish such before the 1140s.

Forty years ago Brita Malmer started collecting material for a study of these imitative coinages. Altogether 3,704 coins are described in the catalogue. Together with the 1,097 coins described in her study of *'The Sigtuna Coinage c. 995-1005'*, published in 1989, the total number approximates to an impressive 5,000 coins, of which 752 obverse and 1,218 reverse dies are recorded. The numbers of dies suggest large numbers of coins in circulation. How coins were used in Scandinavia in the late Viking Age is still an open question. Even so, the volume of silver involved is of such proportions that anyone studying Viking Age economics would benefit from using these series for the understanding of money and exchange.

During recent decades Scandinavian imitations of Anglo-Saxon coins have been a field of dynamic numismatic research. A number of innovative studies have been published by numismatists on both sides of the North Sea. Discoveries of links between official English dies and dies within the imitative Scandinavian series have altered the understanding of these coinages considerably. In the same period intermint die-linking has been recorded in England and Denmark. One source for the movement of moneyers within Scandinavia is the spectacular career of Godwine, the English moneyer who struck coins in the names of the Danish, Swedish and Norwegian kings around the year 1000. If we have understood Godwine's monetary mission the right way, contact between Scandinavian mints in the imitative period certainly took place. This practice of transferring dies over long distances both within and outside Scandinavia obscures the framework for stylistic analysis. To what extent it took place is uncertain, but Malmer makes it clear that the degree of linking is considerable, so considerable that one can wonder whether new finds one day will link up the major chains, and thus make the Scandinavian coinages interrelated.

In her volume on the Sigtuna coinage, Malmer was concerned about 'The blank period in Scandinavian coinage history, c. 1005 - c. 1018'. During the eight years since then several chains have been enlarged to contain imitations of the types Crux, Long Cross, Helmet, Quatrefoil and Pointed Helmet, and thus span twenty to twenty-five years. The blank period in Scandinavian coinage has been transformed into a period where minting was taking place on considerable scale. Worth noticing is the overrepresentation of the Long Cross type in the material. It constitutes approximately 60 per cent of the total material. Comparably are the official equivalents found within Scandinavia known to be 25 per cent. This skewed distribution is considered to reflect the Scandinavian demand for good quality coin, of which the habit of pecking is another testimony.

The catalogue is split into two sections: 1) obverse and reverse dies containing detailed data of each coin, and 2) finds listed by country with relevant data of each

find and concordances to the catalogue of coins and die-links and chains. This way it was possible to incorporate all relevant data for each coin listed. By using the plates it should be fairly easy to identify new specimens in the future. One unusual feature is the arrangement of the numbering system. Only figures are used: one each for obverses, reverses and for the coins themselves. Using the plates as a starting point, one should be aware that one has to combine the number for the reverse die with that of the obverse die, and vice versa, which are presented in separate columns, to get the number of the actual coin in the main catalogue. At first glance it might seem confusing, but for the most part it works very well. It is only when one comes to the five so-called 'additional series' that problems can occur. The introduction to the numbering system will guide you through the catalogue, and is thus recommended. The magnificent drawings of die-chains at the back of the book, where every die-link is presented with a reference to its catalogue-numbers, invites anyone who wants to analyse this work to do so by comparing the photos of relevant specimens. The plates contain photos of all the dies presented in  $\times 2$  enlargements of superb quality, together with detailed drawings of the legends and pictorial variants on the opposite pages with references to die-combinations and -chains for each coin. This is an arrangement which can very well serve as a model for future numismatic scholarship, and which makes it an excellent source for future studies.

While the section on legends and styles proves an important account of the system for classification and attribution, a general survey of the coinages is only presented superficially. Having published two books on the Anglo-Scandinavian coinages, a survey of the Scandinavian coinages before the year 1000 [*Nordiska mynt före år 1000*], and editing the Swedish CNS-project for a generation, few, if anyone, know the early Scandinavian coinages as well as Brita Malmer. It is therefore with great pleasure that we receive the announcement of a more extensive survey of the early monetary history of Scandinavia in the forthcoming volume: *'The Anglo-Scandinavian coinages c. 1020-1030'*. The maps, tables and indexes which would sum up a number of aspects concerning these coinages, and which would facilitate the use of this book, will certainly appear in the forthcoming, and thus the third, catalogue of the Anglo-Scandinavian issues.

In the past we have depended on studies of imported coins for an understanding of monetary movements within Scandinavia. Malmer's work paves the way for in-depth analysis of coin circulation and other monetary issues within Scandinavia in the late Viking Age. The catalogue presented breaks new ground and is certainly going to prove itself immensely useful. Its virtue is to make so much material generally available before presenting the analysis, not only inviting others to take part in new discoveries; it deserves to be used and commented upon.

SVEIN H. GULLBEKK

*English Hammered Coinage, Volume 2, Edward I to Charles II, 1272-1662*, by J.J. North, third edition, London 1991.

THE first edition of this book, which pre-dated volume 1, was published in 1960 and was seen to fill a gap between Brooke's *English Coins*, a popular but scholarly, narrative, history with an un-numbered summary listing of varieties at the end, and the contemporary version of Seaby's *Standard Catalogue*, a simple but useful numbered listing of main varieties with values. Reviewing the first edition in *BNJ* 30 (1960), Ian Stewart (now Lord Stewartby) recognised it as an extremely important addition to the literature of English numismatics, particularly taking account of the substantial advances in scholarship that had been made since the publication of *English Coins* in 1932 (even though that had been partially updated by Whitton in 1950). At the same time he made some suggestions which he felt could improve the book if the full potential of its underlying conception were to be realised. In fact, some of his ideas had already been perceived by the author and were embodied in the first edition of volume 1 which was published two years later.

The second edition of volume 2 was published fifteen years after the first and took full account of numismatic developments in the intervening period. It was also improved in many other ways, particularly by including more references to source material, thus greatly strengthening its value and authority. The third edition again takes account of a further sixteen years of numismatic research. As in the earlier editions, the author has acknowledged that he has been able to draw on the specialised knowledge and friendly co-operation of other leading students and scholars so that the work, as it now stands, is a skilful distillation of three decades of English numismatic scholarship.

Important changes in the third edition include a complete rewriting of that part dealing with the coinage of Edward I, II and the early years of Edward III in the light of the detailed studies published in *SCBI* 39 by the author, himself, and others. The civil war coinage has been reorganised to take into account the work of the late George Boon which is set forth with exemplary clarity in *SCBI* 33. Much of the on-going work of Brown, Borden and Comber on the coinages of Elizabeth I has been taken into account, although Brown and Comber's culminating conclusions on the gold coinage, published in *BNJ* 59 (1989) appeared just too late to be included.

This, of course, demonstrates an unavoidable limitation of a book of this type; that the process of ongoing study and research, as recorded in this and other journals, will progressively make it more out of date. The fact that it is now six years since this edition was published makes one particularly conscious of this, for in the intervening period we have seen the publication of important new discoveries in the field. Brown and Comber's work has already been mentioned. A glance at the volumes of *BNJ* published in the last six years reveals several articles including

those by Besly, Allen, and by North himself, all of which would have to be taken into account in any future edition. Equally, of course, we must not forget the work of Webb Ware revising the attribution of coins to Edward V that is recorded in *SCBI* 47. But this is all inevitable and does little to detract from a valuable and dependable work. It merely emphasizes that the serious student must keep up with the serious literature as well as with the work of quick reference.

Inevitably, the production of a numbered listing of varieties has its own problems and a work of this nature, if it is to be kept to a manageable size, inevitably faces the author with questions of what to include and what to omit, and equally, what simplifications and compromises are permissible. The author's judgements on these points are invariably sound, and he takes care to provide the necessary references for those who wish to delve more deeply.

Of course, further editions of the book could take account of new developments, and, indeed, an interval of fifteen years seems not a bad one for this purpose, taking into account the need to balance both scholarly and commercial considerations. But new editions have their problems, too, particularly with regard to the numbering system used. Clearly, once a book starts to be used as a standard reference coins start to be identified with North numbers and it becomes very inconvenient if those numbers are changed in successive editions. Indeed, this can fatally undermine the value of the book as a reference. As was done in the second and third editions, new discoveries are accommodated by inserting alphabetical suffixes. Although this presents no great problems in the third edition, one has seen in other publications how the complications and difficulties resulting from successive amendments of this sort can eventually lead to the point where it is better to start again. Be that as it may, there can be no real doubt that North's *English Hammered Coinage* will continue to be a necessary and thoroughly reliable reference for many years to come.

PETER WOODHEAD

*Coinage in Scotland*, by J.D. Bateson (Spink, London, 1998), 175pp., 252 illus. in text.

THE Secretary of our Society, Dr. Donal Bateson, has already put us in his debt by his part, as Numismatic Curator of the Hunterian Museum, in the authorship of the joint *Sylloge* volume on the Scottish collections at Glasgow and Oxford. With this further book he has now made another valuable addition to the not very extensive literature of Scottish numismatics. Within a modest compass of 175 pages, and including illustrations of 252 coins, the author has not only described the progress of the Scottish coinage from the twelfth century to the eighteenth, but he has also included a discussion of currency, from much earlier times, based on the evidence of hoards and finds. This is a novel and most welcome feature, gathering together a great deal of information which can only be found



elsewhere by consulting a very wide range of separate sources.

The first two chapters are concerned with the period before Scotland had a coinage of its own, and so are entirely based on records of coins found in Scotland (with accompanying maps). Up to 10,000 coins of the Roman period have been found in Scotland, and are invaluable to archaeologists for dating purposes. They chiefly belong to the period from the arrival of Agricola in 79 to the Severan campaigns of the early third century. Detailed records of Roman coins from Scotland have been kept for many years, first by Sir George Macdonald, then by Professor Anne Robertson and more recently by Dr. Bateson himself. Scotland was not very much Romanized, and the coins largely come from the frontier, or from the vicinity of forts and roads. The local population does not seem to have had any normal use of coin except possibly in the vicinity of some of the forts. Roman coins are from time to time found at native sites, and such as they are probably had no monetary purpose. For example, one of the latest and most important finds of the Roman period is that of late Roman silver buried early in the fifth century, which included clipped siliquae of the 390s and in which the coins like the other silver had probably arrived as loot.

After the departure of the Romans there is a gap of more than four hundred years until coins again arrived in Scotland. In the first half of the ninth century some of the small copper coins produced in the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria found their way northwards to the Borders and other lowland areas of Scotland. These were followed, in the tenth century, by silver coins brought by the Vikings to the islands around the north and west of Scotland. Like Viking hoards from Scandinavia and England these mostly consisted of English, continental and Islamic coins, often accompanied by hacksilver, and culminated in the very important coin hoard from the island of Iona buried in the 980s.

A further interval ensued before a Scottish coinage proper was launched by David I. The third chapter treats the period of the sterling or penny, during which English and Scottish coins were struck to the same standard and were interchangeable in the currency of both countries.

The next three chapters cover the period of the silver groat, from the 1350s to the reign of James V. Reflecting his interest in currency and coin circulation as well as in coinage itself, the author has chosen to devote a chapter each to silver, gold, and billon plus copper. As before, each chapter contains an account of the contents of relevant hoards. This treatment perhaps involves more repetition than would be the case in a chronological division, but it does provide a valuable dimension which is not always easy to obtain from other literature.

The last four chapters revert to a chronological scheme, treating in turn the politically disturbed reign of Mary Queen of Scots, the complex coinages of James VI in a period of rapid inflation, the English-

style issues of Charles I, and finally the milled series from Charles II to Anne.

This book will provide a reliable introduction to the coinage and currency of Scotland, and for the most part it takes into account the more recent literature of the subject. The reader should be aware, however, that there are one or two material omissions from the bibliography cited by the author. Perhaps the most important of these is the article by Mrs. Murray on 'Some placks and base groats of James III of Scotland' (*Metallurgy in Numismatics*, 1980), in which she argued convincingly that the 'alloyed groat' mentioned in 1471 was not the early James III portrait groat (group II) but the new base coin better known as the plack. This discovery not only enables the introduction of the portrait groat to be dated considerably later, but also revives the possibility of a direct relationship between the coin portrait and the very similar representation of the king on the Trinity College altarpiece, an association which had seemed problematic when the portrait groat was dated as early as 1471 (*PSAS* 98, 263-4).

Perhaps the reviewer might also be allowed to express a tinge of personal disappointment that, although the author carefully describes the many and varied coin types of James VI, he does not allude to the political interpretation of many of these types and their accompanying inscriptions published in the Stevenson *Festschrift* (1983). There may, however, be a lesson here, that articles published outside the mainstream periodicals do not always reach their intended numismatic audience.

None of this should detract materially from the usefulness of Dr. Bateson's book. It is well produced and easy to read and should find a place on the shelves of anyone interested in the coinage and currency of Scotland.

LORD STEWARTBY

*Designs on Posterity: Drawings for Medals*, edited by Mark Jones. The British Art Medal Society, 1992, 283pp., numerous illustrations. £35 (from the British Art Medal Society, Department of Coins and Medals, The British Museum).

THIS book has an importance beyond the value of the essays it contains. Such a tribute is a high one, for the distinction of most of the papers it presents is immediately apparent. In fact the volume will have a place in the history of art-historical literature.

The reason why is simple: the range of writing on medals has been extended. What is more this has been done in a systematic fashion. Already the results are apparent, for since the volume under review appeared various other articles have been published, notably in *The Medal*, the Journal of the British Art Medal Society, clearly following the aims and methodology of those who contributed to *Designs on Posterity*.

What has been achieved with this book is in fact a

notable example of the interaction between numismatics and other branches of art history.

The importance of preliminary studies for clarifying our comprehension of the work of artists, sculptors, and architects has long been recognised. Not only do they provide a crucial tool in facilitating an understanding of an artist's chronology and of the influences upon his work, but they also throw a revealing light upon other more esoteric considerations. From preliminary drawings we can learn much concerning the working of the mind of the artist, sculptor or craftsman. Thus we are taken beyond purely technical spheres, being induced to probe artistic aims and sensibilities. That this is something which in the past numismatists, and especially students of medals, have all too often tended to ignore will immediately be apparent.

Such reminders make *Designs on Posterity* vital. It was issued to publish the papers read at the 23rd Congress of the Fédération Internationale de la Médaille held in London in September 1992. That congress was organised by the British Art Medal Society and we owe the volume to the British Art Medal Trust. It is, indeed, a typical example of how the British Art Medal Society encourages the study of medals both of the past and of the present, the essays spanning the centuries from 'The Circulation of Drawings for Medals in Fifteenth Century Italy' by Luke Syson to 'Royal Medal for Poetry: A Design Competition of the 1930s' by G.P. Dyer. A further point of interest was that the authors ranged from museum men and well known scholars to Christopher Eimer, who combines the role of serious student with being a dealer.

Yet what must above all be stressed is that this was the first time that studies specifically concerned with the part drawings play in the production of medals have been published together. Nor is this the only reason why the volume is impressive. In particular two issues should be noted. As Mark Jones, the Editor, points out in his Introduction, often accepted assumptions are challenged. Thus it is salutary to be reminded that preliminary studies for medals frequently differ radically from the preliminary studies made by artists. Where the former are concerned many individuals are often involved, whereas with the latter one of the most crucial things about them is the way they enhance our understanding of the idiosyncrasies of particular artists.

Equally valuable is another point made by Mark Jones in his Introduction. This is when he reminds us that certain of the essays in this book make it clear that we also need to abandon the assumption that the creative idea necessarily has preeminence. A striking example of this is noted by Anthony Griffiths when he recalls that Bergeret was paid 48 francs for his drawing for Denon's medal for the battle of Jena while Galle received 3000 francs for engraving it. Such revelations place our understanding of medals on a surer foundation.

TERENCE MULLALY

*Benedetto Pistrucchi, Principal Engraver and Chief Medallist of the Royal Mint, 1783–1855*, by Michael A. Marsh, Cambridge, 1996

THE view that Benedetto Pistrucchi was a man touched by greatness is etched on virtually every page of Michael Marsh's biography of the Italian engraver and sculptor. This is an undeniably personal account and Marsh almost seems to have been caught in the act of offering up his gratitude to Pistrucchi for the pleasure the artist's work has given him over many years. His opinions in defence of his subject drive the narrative forward and the result is a biography that strives to be and is no more nor less than a genuine expression of admiration.

Far from aiding a wider appreciation, however, such an approach can operate against the very achievements that are being praised. Merely to proclaim a composition as self-evidently without fault, as Marsh does, is of service neither to the composition nor to the reader. It might on occasion have been more instructive to have subjected Pistrucchi to criticism of a more engaged and dispassionate kind, and in so doing release his reputation from the confines of a panegyric and allow it to fight for itself.

Slightly more worrying though, is the omission from some passages of details that might have contributed to a more rounded view of the man. The process by which Pistrucchi thought the Waterloo Medal dies ought to have been hardened is dealt with at length and Marsh reserves the most fulsome of his praise for, as he sees it, this masterpiece of intaglio engraving. Yet the crucial point that the dies on which he worked off and on for some thirty years were never actually hardened, nor a medal ever actually struck from them, is not recorded. It is indicative of Marsh's approach that this crushing irony, in a way the most tragic episode of Pistrucchi's career, is passed over in silence. Nevertheless, it is possible to grasp something of the drama and controversy of his life, a good example of which is the story, drawn by Marsh from the article by Mark Jones in *BNJ* 54, of his very nearly coming to blows with Berkley Westropp, Secretary of the Royal Humane Society, over the design of the Fothergillian Medal. But too often the opportunity to dwell on the character of his temperament and how this might have determined the nature of his work is not explored.

On other occasions, rather than helping to clarify the record of Pistrucchi's life, Marsh effectively muddies the waters. Even the description of Pistrucchi in the title as 'Principal Engraver' of the Royal Mint, never a position as such but rather an opinion that may or may not be accepted, is misleading and reads like a plea to give Pistrucchi the recognition he failed to receive officially. It is also difficult to ignore the inaccuracies liberally scattered throughout this book – the sepulchral figure of Sir Joseph Banks ordering medals from Pistrucchi well into the 1820s, a number of years after his death, is but one example – and, collectively, they tend to dissipate the impact of Marsh's enthusiasm for his subject.



The perspective on the whole is that of a eulogy – a heartfelt tribute, devotional in its tone. For those who may question this reverential treatment, the fairly extensive series of plates, some illustrating pieces by Pistrucci that have seldom been published in Britain, offers a means of formulating an independent judgement. The most welcome contribution that Marsh has made is indeed in displaying the breadth of Pistrucci's work in a modern and colourful format, but there should be no doubt that a comprehensive English-language biography of this prodigal and gifted man has still to be written.

KEVIN CLANCY

*Glasgow Market Tallies*, by A.T. Macmillan and N.G. Brodie, J.T.F. Morall and R.M. Breingan. Glasgow and West of Scotland Numismatic Society, Glasgow, 1997. 28pp., illustrated, ISBN 0 9531677 0 4. £6 (plus 50p postage from the Society).

THIS small volume has been published as part of the celebrations held to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Numismatic Society. It therefore starts with a short, but interesting, history of that society from 1947 to 1997 before moving on to the main subject of the work. This concerns those tokens used in the Glasgow fruit and vegetable and fish markets during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century.

The tokens represented cash deposits paid to the wholesaler on the containers, mainly boxes, for the produce. This seemingly cumbersome transaction involving the return of the token along with the container to secure the return of the deposit had the advantage of making the customer take greater care of the boxes and avoided payment on stolen boxes. However, because there were also separate stores for empty boxes the redeemer was not given cash but a voucher or chit to be presented when paying the account. Thus the tokens were often referred to as 'chitties' in Glasgow though here the authors use the more common numismatic term of tallies throughout.

The Glasgow tallies are found in a variety of shapes, sizes, metals and values ranging from 3 pence up to 10 shillings. The latter seems to have represented the most expensive type of box, for bananas, used at the fruit market while the majority of fish market tallies are for one shilling, representing the value of the smaller fish box. Apart from the value, each tally usually only gives the name of the issuing wholesaler along with the location at the 'Bazaar', or 'Bazaar Glasgow' or 'Glasgow'. The word bazaar refers to the earlier market on the site which sold a much wider range of goods before the greater expansion of retail shops left the bazaar as a wholesale market for fresh produce.

One tally depicts a female bust with the letters M and B, possibly Margaret Burns, the wife of the issuer Daniel Burns of the Fish Market. Another fish market tally actually depicts a fish, but otherwise the tallies are rather plain. A single issue, of L. & H. Williams for 1s.

6d. bears the name of the manufacturer, Vaughton of Birmingham, who, on stylistic grounds, seems also to have been responsible for values of one shilling and 2s. 6d. for the same firm.

The second half of the work consists of a detailed catalogue of the known Glasgow market tallies, listing seventy-five tallies from almost thirty issuers. The majority are from the Fruit and Vegetable Market. Each entry gives the name of the issuer, location with dates as far as can be ascertained, obverse and reverse descriptions, edge, metal, shape and size. Seventy-four obverses and thirty-five reverses are clearly illustrated from carefully chosen examples.

Unfortunately little has survived of the records of the Glasgow markets, but much labour has been fruitfully spent on the local directories. Very fortunately the experiences of a fruit wholesaler, who started in 1937, are recorded by the authors. Not only was he able to explain the working of the tally system but even produced a banana box with the marking for a 10 shillings deposit.

Over sixty per cent of the tallies listed are only known from single specimens and more may come to light, not least because of this work. This is the reason why the catalogue entries are not numbered and this lack of catalogue numbers, making referencing a little less easy, is the only quibble the reviewer has with the publication.

It is very well researched, written and produced and hopefully will not be the only such catalogue to come from the large amount of knowledge built up on local issues by members of the Glasgow and West of Scotland Numismatic Society. It will be through such work by local societies that the corpus of paranumismatica will be greatly expanded.

J.D. BATESON

*Loose Change: A Guide to Common Coins and Medals*, by Edward Besly (Cardiff, 1997). 60pp. £6.95. ISBN 0 7200 0444 6.

IN the early 1970s the National Museum of Wales – now rather cumbrously, if more appropriately, renamed the National Museums and Galleries of Wales to reflect the institution's geographical and disciplinary spread – launched a series of small 'picture' books to interpret its collections to the general public in what was hoped would be an 'accessible' but authoritative manner. Thematic in approach, the booklets were, at the time, a radical departure from the Museum's existing, somewhat fusty, publishing style and, ranging over subjects as diverse as 'Welsh Scenery', 'Seashells', 'China' and 'Coalmines', they proved to be an immediate success.

Among the earliest contributions to the series were *Welsh Industrial Tokens and Medals* and *A Hundred and One Coins*, two companion volumes compiled in 1973 by the late George Boon, then the Museum's senior assistant keeper of Archaeology. Both booklets have been out of print for many years and have been

solely missed. Now, at long last, the latter, ostensibly an illustrated guide to those coins all too frequently brought into the Museum for identification, has been succeeded by Edward Besly's *Loose Change*.

Besly describes his book as 'in effect, a second edition' of *A Hundred and One Coins*; 'revised, expanded and updated'. He is too modest. While, conceptually, *Loose Change* is obviously in the same mould as its predecessor it stands very much on its own. It is still, as its sub-title tells us, a guide to common coins, and to the stray medal too, since local commemorative medals and the ubiquitous campaign medals of the two world wars have been added to its tally. In common with Boon Besly sets out not only to describe specific coins and suchlike objects but to put them into their historical and cultural context. But he has taken advantage of the remarkable enrichment of the Cardiff collection over the past quarter of a century to draw upon material not available in 1973 and has impressed his own personal stamp on his choice of specimens.

*Loose Change* is handsomely put together with a wealth of illustration, both in colour and black and white, and with helpful maps. Chronologically arranged, it is a useful and alluring beginner's introduction to numismatics and something of a simplified vade-mecum to the author's coin and medal gallery at Cathays Park.

Of course readers will have their criticisms. No doubt some will feel that 'Loose Change' is a curious title for a book that contains coins, especially in the classical series, that could never have been thought to be such by contemporaries. And some of the coins illustrated are today far from 'common' in terms of the average collector's pocket but, as Besly points out, the odd rarity can usefully serve to illustrate a common class. Yet the stress is properly on those types of coins, neither particularly rare nor valuable, which time and again are brought in for identification. The descriptive commentaries are short and succinct, more concise than those in *A Hundred and One Coins*, and on the whole the better for it even if, in some instances, they are almost too perfunctory. The coin photography is first class and the supporting illustrations well chosen and apposite. It is good to see Lawrence's splendid portrait of that old scoundrel Thomas Williams of Llanidan now at home in the Museum's Art department after years in the wilderness; but why waste a whole page with the preamble of the 1831 Truck Act which is adequately explained in the preceding text?

My greatest cavil, though, is not with the author but with the designer, excellent though he otherwise is. Could not his zest for ghosted 'blow-ups' have been curbed? Perhaps I am being old-fashioned but to me what appear to be capricious images, sprawling over the pages, add nothing to the text, are distracting, and convey the impression that we are looking at the sales-brochure of some multinational corporation.

But, in the overall context, this is really nit-picking. *Loose Change* is a model of its kind and, I am sure, will be welcomed not only by the interested layman but also by the harassed museum curator whose lot it will be to

identify objects outside his field. For someone who was, at one time, closely associated with the National Museum of Wales, it is a particular pleasure to be able to congratulate both its author and the Museum on so elegant a publication produced, for these days, at what is so reasonable a price.

D.W. DYKES

*The Yorkshire Numismatist 3*, edited by A.I.J. Abramson (The Yorkshire Numismatic Society, Leeds, 1997); vii + 246pp., illustrated, card covers; £10 + p. and p.

*THE Yorkshire Numismatist 3* (YN3) contains material of lasting value in a number of areas of British numismatics and will enhance the library of every researcher in these fields. The entire contents have been listed elsewhere (*NCirc* July 1998, 264), and this review will examine only the more important essays in current British studies.

### *Celtic*

In 'Cast away riches' Philip de Jersey estimates the volume of Celtic coins found in Britain by first breaking down by counties the provenanced coins in the Celtic Coin Index (CCI) maintained since the early 1960s at the Institute of Archaeology in Oxford. Adding a summary of the contents of forty-four hoards dating back to 1749 and estimating unreported metal-detector finds gives a rough figure of some 70,000 Celtic coins found in Britain. A graph of coins recorded in the CCI 1961–1996 and three maps provide reference tools for future finds.

### *Anglo-Saxon*

The Anglo-Saxon era reflects the most interest, and three of the five papers are on Northumbrian coinage. James Booth summarises present knowledge of Northumbrian coins c. 670–867 and examines in detail the South Newbold site, which has yielded 124 coins lost c. 740–c. 855. Mike Bonser reviews the types of coins found at eight 'productive sites' (typically open field areas, most likely used for periodic fairs). In what the editor terms 'probably the major work' Derek Chick presents an interim study towards a chronology for Offa's coinage (760s?–796), based on a paper delivered at the British Numismatic Society's one-day meeting at Cambridge in July 1995 – 'New Developments in Anglo-Saxon Numismatics'.

E.J.E. Pirie re-examines an enigmatic penny of Eanred from the 1774 Trewiddle hoard, rejecting the proposed date of c. 850, which would require a new, unknown, King Eanred or a drastic revision of Northumbrian chronology, in favour of a date of c. 830, which accords with Eanred's accepted dates. In the final Anglo-Saxon paper Veronica Smart revisits the challenge of names on coins, particularly on Northumbrian 'stycas', and defends her selection of discrete names among variant spellings.

### Medieval

In the sole medieval entry Ian Dowthwaite outlines the known facts of Henry III's Long Cross moneyers, die-custodians, assayers and clerks, as found on the coins and in various types of rolls.

### Post-Medieval

Editor Tony Abramson's account of the so-called 'Yorkshire Coiners' of 1765–83 reviews the deplorable monetary situation of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England and basically blames governmental financial and legal incompetence for the widespread diminishing and counterfeiting of gold coins. Brian Robinson links Captain James Cook with Maundy Money presented during his Pacific voyages.

### Seventeenth-Century Tokens

In spite of Pinkerton's well-known fatuous comment, for the past century and a half there has been an increasing interest in seventeenth-century tokens, recently spurred by the Norweb *Sylloge* volumes. Five articles here contribute to their study. Geoff Percival provides personal histories of two issuers, but unfortunately Ian Taylor's identification of another either has lost its concluding paragraph(s) or has been drastically over-edited.

R.H. Thompson convincingly re-attributes ten Yorkshire tokens, and Jim Halliday lists fifty-one recent finds in Yorkshire (twenty-five illustrated). C.E. Challis discusses and lists the acquisition of tokens of this type in the University of Leeds collection.

It is well known that Boyne and Williamson (BW) 'filled in' legends on worn tokens – sometimes correctly, sometimes not. Issuers also often had a second or third striking, differing slightly in date or legend. Thus it may be difficult to determine whether a new date or legend is truly a variety or merely a correction from a clearer specimen. The Challis corpus of more than 900 tokens is particularly valuable in giving readings that vary from BW. It would be useful if more institutional collections could be published in this manner.

### Medals

Two articles explore little-known medallic series: David Pickup's notes on the 1807 York parliamentary election and F.W. Mellor's United States presidential awards for lifesaving at sea, especially those given to British seamen.

### Northern Register

Finally Craig Barclay lists coin finds reported to the Yorkshire Museum 1992–96, and John H. Rumsby notes Yorkshire checks and passes in the Kirklees Museum.

As with most collections of articles and notes, the

widely varying styles, sometimes unclear explanations and uneven writing can put one off, especially when obvious errors creep in (e.g. 'OF' as in the text, or 'IN' as in the drawing?). However, different approaches can also be a source of strength, particularly from authors who have previously published little and, through specialised studies, present fresh views.

The only serious criticism of *YN3* results from what must have been a rush to meet a printing schedule. Using a computer 'spellchecker' will not pick up such mistakes as 'feed' for 'feet' (p. 125) nor make sense of this paragraph.

'Traders' accounts are full of refer presumably the fruits of his own research, as the names do not correspond to those he notes from other sources (p. 134).

Whilst one can sympathise with having to meet a deadline, especially when authors are slow to return copy, mistakes in print live on. It is hoped that for *YN4* (which this reviewer impatiently anticipates) an extra day or two may be granted for one last editorial read-through.

H.E. MANVILLE

*Numismatic Guide to British and Irish Periodicals*. (*Encyclopaedia of British Numismatics*, Volume II, Part 2), by H.E. Manville. Spink & Son Ltd and A.H. Baldwin & Sons Ltd., London 1997, viii + 631pp.

THIS impressive tome is the latest part in Manville's *Encyclopaedia of British Numismatics*. The material presented here covers four basic categories: the national journals such as the *Numismatic Chronicle* and *British Numismatic Journal*; dealers lists like Spink's *Numismatic Circular* and the now extinct Seaby's *Coin and Medal Bulletin*; magazines, for example *Coin News* and *Irish Numismatics*; and small journals of local numismatic societies, which are often overlooked.

Naturally, Manville has concentrated largely on the *NC*, *BNJ*, *NCirc* and *SCMB*, and his listing of these four accounts for three quarters of the whole work. However, their contents are so well presented, highlighted and indexed, that the volume is invaluable for this alone. It will certainly save regular users of these publications a great deal of time. In particular he makes the numerous small but significant articles and notes in *SCMB* immediately accessible. The same applies to the listing of the contents of the underrated *Irish Numismatics*, a labour of love for the owner/editor Derek Young from 1968–1983.

Manville has the great skill to be able to pick the bones out of all these publications without making his volume into a simplistic tedious listing and index. It is a remarkable achievement and one marvels at his vision, presentation and that ability to distil such a vast amount of information into 600+ pages. It is hard to think of anyone else with the same combination of imagination, knowledge and energy to have undertaken it.

It is another wonderful volume in this series which is essential for all serious numismatists and even seems cheap at £60 in these days of inflated coin prices.

PATRICK FINN

## OBITUARY

MRS. J.E.L. MURRAY

WITH the death in September 1996 of Joan, widow of Lieutenant-Colonel J.K.R. Murray, in her eightieth year, the Society has lost one of its most distinguished members, and the only recipient of the Sanford Saltus medal ever to have attained this honour entirely on account of contributions to Scottish numismatics. The list of her published work is not a very long one, but her detailed analysis of the coins of Robert II and of the five Jameses, coupled with extensive study of the documentary sources, brought about major advances in our understanding of Scottish coinage and currency from the late fourteenth to the early sixteenth century.

Joan Elisabeth Lowther Clarke was the younger daughter, and the youngest of the five children, of the Revd. W.K.L. Clarke. She was born on 24 June 1917, St. John the Baptist's day, whence the names Joan and Elisabeth (the latter being the spelling of John's mother's name in the Authorized Version). She came of a clerical and scholarly family, her father, both grandfathers and two great-grandfathers having been in holy orders, and her father and one of her grandfathers also at one time fellows of Cambridge colleges. From Dulwich High School for Girls she won a scholarship to Newnham College, Cambridge, where she graduated as a wrangler. Like a number of other talented mathematicians of her vintage she was in 1940 recruited (by her former Cambridge supervisor) to Bletchley Park where she was engaged through the war in highly secret work of crypto-analysis. The vital part played by those at Bletchley in countering the U-boat threat has only become a matter of public knowledge in recent years. Joan herself, a distinguished member of the small group of key players, contributed a (typically modest) chapter on Hut 8 to *Code Breakers*, a collection of essays by former members of the team, edited by Sir Harry Hinsley and Alan Stripp, which was published in 1994. Her assistance was also acknowledged by Mr. Robert Harris in his novel *Enigma*, based on events at Bletchley in 1943, which was being broadcast as a serial by the BBC in early September 1996, at the time of her death.

The outstanding figure at Bletchley had been Alan Turing, one of the century's greatest mathematicians and responsible for achieving the key breakthrough in cracking the German U-boat code. On 10 March 1992 Joan appeared on television in a Horizon programme about Turing; and in Hugh Whitmore's play *Breaking the Code* she is thinly disguised as Pat Green. Joan and Alan worked closely together, and in 1941 they became engaged. It was a great sadness to her when he had to tell her that their engagement could not proceed on account of his homosexuality. She was later to explain that it was because she had known someone as brilliant as Alan Turing, she felt unable to return to mathematical research after the war. We now know that, although she was only in her twenties during the war, Joan's work at Bletchley made a material contribution to the eventual success of the Allies, and if the MBE that she was awarded for it seems now scarcely proportionate to what she had achieved, it must be remembered that there were limitations on the public recognition of those whose work was so secret.

After the war Joan moved to the Government Communications Head Quarters, where she met Jock Murray, lately retired from the Army and a specialist in military intelligence. They were married on 26 July 1952 in Chichester Cathedral, where her father was then residentiary canon; but Jock's health was poor, and in the same year he was forced to retire, moving with Joan to the ancient port of Crail in Fife, where they increasingly occupied themselves in historical research on the burgh records. By 1962 Jock was sufficiently recovered to return to



work, and they accordingly moved to the village of Uckington, on the outskirts of Cheltenham. For Jock this was something of a homecoming, since he had been born in Cheltenham, where his maternal grandmother lived, while his father, an engineer, was working in Egypt. Jock remained at GCHQ until he retired in 1971, and Joan continued to work there until well into her sixties.

With Scottish blood (he came of the family of Murray of Mastrick, in Aberdeenshire) and an interest in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries gained from working on the Crail archives, it was a natural development for Jock, who had been interested in coins and medals from his army days, to turn his attention to Scottish coins. His first acquisitions were made in 1964 and Joan, who had an appetite for research and quickly developed an equal commitment to the subject, began to collect in the following year. Jock's greatest interest, both as a collector and as a student, lay in the post-medieval period, while Joan concentrated on the fifteenth century where she soon mastered the existing literature and began to make important observations of her own. In 1965 she sent me the outline of a long paper in which she argued for some rearrangement of the types of heavy groat of James III and IV, and for a more fundamental reclassification of the contemporary gold unicorns. She responded enthusiastically to the suggestion that she should join the British Numismatic Society, while Jock became a fellow of the Royal. From that time onwards Jock and Joan Murray and I were continuously in touch on Scottish numismatics for twenty years, sometimes collaborating in print, always reviewing each other's work before publication. With Jock focussing on the later period, from Mary onwards, Joan on the Jameses, and myself on the earlier centuries, we developed an informal division of labour to cover the whole series. Unfortunately, neither Jock nor Joan found it easy to prepare their work for publication, and each of them has left a considerable body of unpublished material which it would be desirable to complete. What they did publish, however, was of very high quality, and in Joan's case it benefited not only from acute observation of detail but also from the insight of a penetrating mathematical mind trained to decipher obscurities of meaning.

Joan's first published papers (1967 and 1970) were of joint work which we had undertaken on the earlier coinages of James III, but soon afterwards she completed her study of the heavy groats and unicorns of James III and IV, and this appeared as a magisterial paper in the *Journal* for 1971. In addition to an innovative use of specific gravities (by which she demonstrated an unexpected deterioration in the fineness of the gold unicorns of James IV), this article includes an analysis of the portrait groats of James III which in part is based on some curious misspellings in the reverse inscription, where the crypto-analyst observed significant letter patterns that had escaped the notice of earlier students.

In the 1970s Joan Murray was particularly productive. Jock's health was still reasonable, and they were both collecting actively, participating in numismatic meetings and gatherings, and working on a range of topics. Three of Joan's papers read to the Society at this period remain unpublished, on James V (1971), on the early sixteenth-century hoard from Mauchline (1972) and on the Scottish Reformation (1976). The last of these did, however, provide material for an important paper (1980), written jointly with Jock, on Mary's testoons of 1560–1, and this later period, where her interests overlapped with his, also yielded an article on the gold coinage of 1543 (1979), and, as something of an afterthought, a contribution on the possible coinage of the Marian faction during the minority of James VI (1987–9). Sometimes a new addition to her collection would stimulate a fresh line of enquiry, as when the purchase of a coin of David I with a new moneyer's name led her to explore an earlier period, and to add St. Andrews to the canon of twelfth-century Scottish mints (1983).

Increasingly Joan Murray became interested in broader questions about mints, coinage and currency, searching historical sources for relevant information. These researches led to a remarkable paper on the work of the Scottish mint from David II to James VI (1977), and two subsidiary items on the location of the Edinburgh mint (1991) and a mint tender of 1538



(1988). All of these display a thorough familiarity with the records – the first of them includes more than a hundred references to Acts of Parliament and Privy Council, Exchequer Rolls, the Registers of the Great and Privy Seals, the Treasurer's Accounts and other official records. One of the topics where historical and numismatic evidence gave ambiguous signals was the base coinages of the reign of James III, which she made the subject of two important studies. In one (1980), by combining metallurgical analysis, documentary evidence and numismatic detail she was able to demonstrate that the 'alloyed groat' described in the Act of Parliament of 6 May 1471 was not the debased portrait groat of James III but the new billon plack, a discovery which has important implications for the chronology and interpretation of the coinage of the period. In another (1977) she argued for an identification of the *Crux Pellit* copper pennies (attributed by R.B.K. Stevenson to Bishop Kennedy of St. Andrews) with the black money that was one of the stated causes of the king's unpopularity in 1482. She continued to work on this series in later years, collaborating with Madame van Nerom in an article on some continental finds (1983), and becoming increasingly convinced that the *Crux Pellit* coins had been issued by James III.

Jock Murray died in November 1986. Joan had by then herself retired, and much of her time in his last few years had been taken in looking after him. She did, however, continue to do a considerable amount of technical numismatic work at this time, and in subsequent years. In a joint paper (1982) on the fifteenth-century Innerwick hoard she included a die-analysis of the later light groats of James III, and a paper on three late fourteenth-century hoards (1978) led her to undertake a detailed study of the coins of Robert II. We also worked together on the fleur-de-lis groats of James I–II, on which we had planned to produce a more detailed classification in due course. For these purposes she borrowed the relevant parts of my collection for many years, and among her papers are substantial blocks of work, some at least of which ought eventually to be capable of conversion into publishable form.

Mrs. Murray remained at Uckington for five years after her husband's death, but in 1991 she moved to Headington, not far from one of her Clarke cousins. Another reason for moving was to be within reach of the Ashmolean Museum and the Bodleian Library in Oxford. Also, while still at Uckington, she had developed a condition which restricted the use of her right arm and shoulder, and a smaller house with a minuscule garden could reduce the effort of maintaining a household as she got older. For long periods she was in considerable pain, and the increasing difficulty of writing was the main reason why she was not able to bring much of her later work to a conclusion.

In March 1994, although by now very frail, she read her last paper to the Society, a nearly finished account of the coinage of Robert II. This is one of the most difficult parts of the Scottish series since the coinage is superficially uniform, and successive phases can for the most part only be distinguished by slight differences in lettering. But we had spent much time studying the material together and I hope in due course to be able to complete the work. The last item in her bibliography is a review of a book on medieval Scottish prices, a subject which she had studied intensively for many years and used to good effect from time to time in discussing changes in the weight or fineness of Scottish coins. Mr. Nicholas Mayhew, author of the long chapter on 'Currency' in this book, has told me that a draft of it was seen and checked in detail by Mrs. Murray, and incorporates her latest thinking.

In 1978, when discussing the Drumnadrochit hoard, she had remarked that she was 'not entirely convinced by the arguments in favour of an earlier date than 1393 for the introduction of the light front-face groats' of Robert III; but further work on the coinage of this period strengthened her view that the change from the (heavier) profile groats of Robert II to the lighter front-face groats took place in 1393 and not in 1390 as Burns had argued. In her 1995 review she refers in passing to the 'drastic 1393 reduction in the weight of the Scottish groat', and this reflects the contents of a note which she had attached to the text of her unpublished paper on Robert II. In view of the importance of her arguments it seems worth placing them

on record without delay, and I have accordingly included them hereafter in an appendix (with the minimum of editing necessary to enable the note to stand alone).

Joan Murray was a very private lady, whose natural reticence was enhanced by the self-discipline of extreme secrecy in her early adult years. She was a gentle and kindly person, regarded with affection by fellow members of her local church, but without the openness of manner that makes for easy acquaintance. She lived on an intellectual plane, and her careful choice of words added to a natural hesitancy of speech. Except when warming to a specialist theme – a new die-link perhaps, or a broken letter punch – she did not find conversation easy. On the telephone there would often be long silences, but a few days later a letter would arrive, lucid, warmly expressed and full of incisive comment. She would take immense pains to respond to correspondents (including eminent historians as well as numismatists) who sought her advice. We are indeed fortunate that someone of her formidable powers should have turned her attention to medieval numismatics, and to such remarkable effect.

LORD STEWARTBY

*Note:* For an obituary notice of J.K.R. Murray see *BNJ* 56 (1986), 202–4. Shorter notices (with photographs) have appeared in *NCirc* Feb. 1987, 7 (JKRM) and Nov. 1996, 405–6 (JELM). I am indebted to members of

their families for various items of information included above. Joan's relationship with Turing is described in A. Hodges, *Alan Turing: The Enigma* (New York, 1983), pp. 206–17.

## NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS AND PAPERS OF J.E.L. MURRAY

- 1967 'Unpublished Scottish Coins IV. Early James III' (with B.H.I.H. Stewart), *NC* 1967, 147–61.
- 1968 Review of *The Scottish Coinage, with supplement* (with comments on the revaluation of silver coins of Charles II in 1681), *BNJ* XXXVII (1968), 201–2.
- 1969 'Hoards in Scotland under James IV', *NCirc* June 1969, 199.
- 1970 'Unpublished Scottish Coins V. Light Groats and Base Groats of James III' (with B.H.I.H. Stewart), *NC* 1970, 163–86.
- 1971 'The Coinage of James V of Scotland', unpublished, read to British Numismatic Society, 26 January 1971.
- 'The Early Unicorns and the Heavy Groats of James III and IV', *BNJ* XL (1971), 62–96.
- 1972 'The Mauchline (Ayrshire) Hoard', unpublished, read to British Numismatic Society, 25 January 1972.
- 1976 'The Scottish Reformation and the Coinage', unpublished, read to British Numismatic Society, 28 September 1976.
- 1977 'The Black Money of James III', *Coinage in Medieval Scotland (1100–1600)*, edited by D.M. Metcalf (BAR 45), pp. 115–30.
- 'The Organisation and Work of the Scottish Mint, 1358–1603, *ibid.*, pp. 155–70.
- 1978 'Elvet Moor, Lumphanan and Drumnadrochit Finds of Late Fourteenth-Century Scottish Coins', *BNJ* XLVIII (1978), 73–9.
- 1979 'The First Gold Coinage of Mary Queen of Scots', *BNJ* XLIX (1979), 82–6.
- 1980 'Some Placks and Base Groats of James III of Scotland' (with M.R. Cowell), *Metallurgy in Numismatics I*, edited by D.M. Metcalf and W.A. Oddy, pp. 180–3.
- 'Notes on the Vicit Leo Testoons of Mary Queen of Scots' (with J.K.R. Murray), *BNJ* L (1980), 81–90.
- 1982 'Innerwick Hoard 1979' (with D.H. Caldwell and M. Delmé-Radcliffe), *BNJ* 52 (1982), 132–50.
- Review of *The Scottish Antiquarian Tradition*, edited by A.S. Bell, Edinburgh 1981, *BNJ* 52 (1982), 260.
- 1983 'St. Andrews Mint under David I' (with I. Stewart), *BNJ* 53 (1983), 178–80.
- 'Monnaies 'au Globe et à la Croix' Appartenant à des Collections Belges' (with C. van Nerom de Bue), *RBN* 129 (1983), 91–118.
- Letter about Darien gold, *NCirc* XC, Feb. 1983, 11.
- 1987 'The Coinage of the Marians in Edinburgh Castle in 1572', *BNJ* 57 (1987), 47–53; also 'Addendum' to this (with D.J. Rampling), *BNJ* 59 (1989), 213.
- 1988 'A Tender for the Scottish Coinage in 1538', *Later Medieval Mints*, edited by N.J. Mayhew and P. Spufford (BAR Int. series 389, Oxford 1988), pp. 222–8.
- 1989 See 1987.
- 1991 'The Location of the Edinburgh Mint, 1358 to 1463 – and Linlithgow Mint', *BNJ* 61 (1991), 126–9.
- 1994 'The Coinage of Robert II', unpublished, read to British Numismatic Society, 22 March 1994.
- 1995 Review of E. Gemmill and N. Mayhew, *Changing Values in Medieval Scotland* (CUP, 1995), *BNJ* 65 (1995), 256–7.

## APPENDIX: DATING THE END OF THE ROBERT PROFILE GROATS

Early in the 1390s the weight of the Scottish groat was reduced by about a quarter, and the reduction was marked by a change of type. A facing head, in the English manner, replaced the traditional Scottish profile portrait, with three pellets instead of a mullet in each angle of the reverse cross. The following are Mrs. Murray's comments on the dating of this change.

In June 1385 the Scottish Parliament ordered that the silver coinage should be made as before, authorising the use of foreign money as bullion, and also laid down currency values for various gold coins. In March 1389 the matter of the coinage was one of the Articles for Parliament to consider, probably because of difficulty in maintaining the standard, but there is no record of any decision on the subject. The first Scottish record of a change was the Act of Parliament on 24 October 1393. There was, however, an ordinance of the English Parliament, on 13 November 1390, that the Scottish groat should pass for twopence (instead of threepence), the halfgroat for one penny, and so on. This was taken by Edward Burns (*The Coinage of Scotland*, I, pp. 270–1) as evidence that the lightweight Robert III coinage was introduced before or shortly after Robert II's death, in April 1390, on the grounds that there was no other change to justify the reduced English valuation: Lord Stewartby accepted this (*The Scottish Coinage*, p. 36). The English action in 1390 can, however, be adequately explained without postulating a change in the Scottish standards. It followed a petition of 'the poor commons' that Scottish money 'might be utterly removed out of the realm', which would have been in accordance with the normal English policy of forbidding the circulation of foreign coin: although the response was not to ban the Scottish money, the effect of tariffing it well below the bullion value would be to drive it out of circulation. One may also note that the Scottish penny and halfpenny which were to pass for a halfpenny and farthing were presumably good silver ones, and not the Robert III ones of reduced fineness, 'semblable a la coigne d'Engleterre, et de fauxe allaie', complained of in 1406.

There is Scottish documentary evidence, less well known because not in Cochran-Patrick's *Records*, which confirms the 1393 date for the change. The simplest is in the Exchequer Rolls for the year to March 1394, valuing the noble at 9s. 6d. '*de moneta jam de novo fabricata*'. 'Newly made' might not necessarily refer to that year, but certainly the value of the noble, in accordance with that specified by Parliament in 1393, was new, being an increase of 14d. over that recorded in 1392 and 1393 (and 22d. over that ordained in 1385). Different evidence was used by William W. Scott in his article on 'Sterling and the Usual Money of Scotland, 1370–1415' (*Scottish Economic and Social History*, 5, 1985, 4–22). He states that 'the policy of the Scottish government' from the weight reduction in 1367 until 1393 'seems to have been to maintain in public' that the Scottish money was equal to the English. 'The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland and other records of grants made by the kings of Scots' show 'with almost complete consistency, a series of transactions where money is expressed as sterling . . . up to mid-October 1393.' In the two exceptions, the Crown was not a principal party. 'The Crown documents in and after 1394 set a new pattern . . . the vast majority is in [terms of] usual money of Scotland/of our kingdom'. (Similar phrases sometimes occurred earlier in non-Crown documents.) Thus the use of such terms was presumably decided after the 1393 statute, which meant that it was no longer possible to maintain that Scottish money was equivalent to English sterling money. If there had been an earlier statute, of which there is no record, ordering the lowered standards and repeated in 1393, the change of terminology in the Crown documents would surely have occurred earlier.



## PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, 1997

G.P. DYER

OUR Treasurer, Tim Webb Ware, has just reported a small deficit in our accounts for last year. I know that it has grieved him to make such a report, the first time that a deficit has occurred since he became Treasurer more than ten years ago. But, as he has made clear, his projected surplus was wiped out by a large and unexpected increase, justified as we discovered, in the cost of despatching the *Journal*. The underlying financial position, however, remains extremely healthy and your late Council therefore had no hesitation in recommending that the annual subscription could safely be left unchanged.

During the year we have elected twenty-five new members, and allowing for deaths, resignations and the fourteen members who have been amoved tonight membership now stands at 465 individual members and 118 institutional members. We still therefore fall short of the 600 to which I aspire and which each year I think is within reach until the Treasurer tells me of the number of amovals.

Death has claimed two of our members, Iain Murray and Dr John Lavertine. Iain Murray, though well known to many of you from his long association with Spink's, had in fact only recently become a member, but Dr Lavertine's membership dated back to 1964. For as long as I can remember he had been a regular attender at our meetings, a familiar figure, quiet but friendly, seated in his accustomed place down here at the front on my right. A doctor of medicine, he specialised, so I believe, in the examination of dead bodies and it caused some amusement after one of our meetings several years ago when, with a seemingly lifeless body to deal with, he actually succeeded in finding a pulse and pronounced your future President to be still alive. He may have published little, but we should not forget how much we owe him and others like him for their support of the Society.

Each year, fortunately, also brings its full share of happy moments, and few can have given greater satisfaction this year than the presentation to Philip Grierson in May of a special striking of the Sanford Saltus Medal. Our numismatic debt to Professor Grierson needs no further words tonight but it was a particularly felicitous notion that the award should be made in the year that sees the fiftieth anniversary of his election to membership of the Society. The pleasure of the evening was enhanced by his gracious words of acceptance and by his being able to join a group of us for supper afterwards.

Two other prominent numismatists were in the news during the year, Marion Archibald and our Vice-President Peter Mitchell. Marion, who will blush to hear me describe her as one of the most popular figures in British numismatics, retired at the end of May after thirty-four years in the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum and we all welcome her intention, after a well-deserved period of recuperation, to pursue a demanding programme of research and publication. In October Peter Mitchell retired after forty-eight years with the family firm of Baldwin, which itself celebrated its 125th anniversary in 1997. As with Marion, retirement will not mean absence and we look forward to Peter's continuing attendance at our meetings and his rich flow of anecdotes across the table at supper.

Our regular programme was remarkable for the fifth Linecar Lecture, delivered in September by the historian Professor Christopher Dyer of the University of Birmingham. Picking up the theme of his contribution to our one-day meeting in Birmingham last year, Professor Dyer spoke of the uses of money in the later Middle Ages, fascinating his audience by the skilful amalgam of historical and numismatic evidence. It was a lecture of which our



benefactor Howard Linecar would have thoroughly approved, a point well made by Lord Stewartby in the discussion that followed the lecture.

Whether by chance or Directorial design, the Linecar Lecture was neatly complemented by Mark Blackburn's paper in October on Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman coin finds. Martin Allen, at the beginning of the year, gave us a taste of the work that he has been doing on the Durham Mint, David Dykes in March made another rewarding excursion into the token-making and die-sinking activities of Birmingham, and in June Kevin Clancy spoke about the silver exchange of 1817, the subject of his forthcoming PhD thesis for the University of Leeds. The medals of the Royal Humane Society were described by Craig Barclay and our wider interests were served by Paul Stevens on the coinage of Madras, a paper that incidentally opened the eyes of the dinosaurs amongst us to the effectiveness of hi-tech presentation. And finally, at the Sherry Party evening in May, Paul Robinson bravely took on the intriguing and topical subject of folklore and treasure trove.

The out-of-town meeting, now happily such a fixture in our annual programme, was held at the Guildhall, Winchester, on Saturday 5 July. Its theme was mints and coinage in Winchester and Wessex, and we were entertained by a succession of papers of high quality from Martin Biddle, Melinda Mays, Michael Metcalf, Yvonne Harvey and Gerald Dunger. The meeting was a sell-out and on a particularly hot day I think we were all glad of the pleasant bonus of a balcony on which to enjoy some fresh air. To the names of the speakers I want to add those of Stewart Lyon and Lord Stewartby, who by kindly sharing the duties of Chairman reminded us yet again of the benefit that the Society gains from the support of its Vice-Presidents. I must also acknowledge our debt to our member Stephen Mitchell, who was so delighted that the Society should visit his adopted home town that he made a generous contribution to the expenses of the day and in so doing underlined in the nicest possible way one of our purposes in occasionally meeting outside London.

Looking beyond the direct concerns of the Society, the year has been unusually fruitful from a numismatic point of view. It began in grand style with the opening by the Duke of Gloucester of the new HSBC Money Gallery at the British Museum, a Gallery that demonstrates the international breadth of the Museum collections and which, as we all knew it would, reflects great credit on the Keeper of Coins and Medals and his colleagues. On 1 February the Society's name was associated with a meeting at the London Coin Fair on the implementation of the new Treasure Act, which came into operation this autumn. The discussion was led by Roger Bland, who has done so much to assist this welcome change in the law and whose contribution has, quite properly, found acknowledgement in the columns of *Hansard*. In April I attended the Annual Congress of the British Association of Numismatic Societies, a Congress whose success was all the more gratifying as it was held in my native county of Suffolk.

It was the autumn, however, that seemed at times to challenge numismatic stamina. The twelfth International Numismatic Congress took place in early September in Berlin, giving us the opportunity to see at first hand a city in course of transformation. Numismatically the Congress, as always, was rewarding, if at times a little frustrating when papers clashed or speakers failed to turn up. The large British contingent was much in evidence and if I single out the Keeper of Coins and Medals it is to congratulate Andrew Burnett as the new President of the International Numismatic Commission and to wish him well. From our Benefactors Fund we helped to finance the attendance at the Congress of two members, one of them a junior who spoke publicly and eloquently at the Congress of his gratitude to the Society.

The weekend following my return from Berlin I visited Durham for the BANS Lecture Course, where we enjoyed the unusual privilege of being allowed to handle the rare numismatic books in the Dean and Chapter Library. On 11 October I attended the symposium on Matthew Boulton organised at the Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery by David Symons and Rita McLean as a celebration of the 200th anniversary of Boulton's cartwheel penny. And

the numismatic delights of the autumn continued on 24 October, when I was kindly invited to Oxford to attend the 75th anniversary of the opening of the Heberden Coin Room at the Ashmolean Museum. If proof were needed of the importance of the Ashmolean, it was to be found in the international array of distinguished guests who gathered for this happy occasion.

Inevitably not everything has gone according to plan and it would be wrong to conceal the disappointments behind the catalogue of activity that I have just described. It has, unfortunately, not yet been possible to bring out Robert Thompson's updated Contents Listing of the *Journal*: his part of the work has long been completed but the transfer of the text to a new disc created an unexpected proofreading burden which has caused delay. I also regret that the second volume in our Special Publication Series has yet to appear, but here I am pleased to report that Dick Doty's manuscript on the Soho Mint has been delivered, along with the promise of a handsome subvention from the Smithsonian Institution. The project is now being costed by a publisher, who seems confident that it can appear before I step down as your President next November.

These disappointments aside, it has been a good year for the Society. That this should have been so is a tribute to the Officers and Council and, on behalf of you all, I should like to express our gratitude to Council; to the Director, Thomas Curtis, for another splendid programme of meetings; to the Treasurer, Tim Webb Ware; to the Librarian, Tony Holmes; and to the Secretary, Donal Bateson. The Editors, Edward Besly and Nick Holmes, deserve our gratitude for the bumper *Journal* that was distributed early this year and I am able to tell you tonight of our firm expectation that Volume 66 will be with you soon after Christmas.

As for you, the membership as a whole, your loyalty and support also requires recognition and I am glad to say that, at the end of the meeting, we are again to enjoy an opportunity to toast the health of the Society. The cost is generously being defrayed by Spink's in honour of the fiftieth anniversary of Douglas Liddell's election to membership, but the pleasure of such hospitality must, I fear, be deferred until you have heard the second part of the Presidential Address.

## PRESENTATION TO PROFESSOR PHILIP GRIERSON, 27 MAY 1997

*In making the presentation, the President said:*

TONIGHT it is my happy duty on behalf of the Society to present to Professor Philip Grierson a special striking of the Sanford Saltus Medal, our Society's highest award. That we should have adopted this somewhat unusual course to honour someone who is already an Honorary Member of the Society speaks for the very high regard in which he is held. And not just by us, for it is universally acknowledged that he is one of the truly great names of numismatics, a scholar of international stature. It was only a few months ago that one of our Vice-Presidents, Lord Stewartby, said of him that his knowledge and understanding of medieval coinage can surely never have been equalled. And it was another of our Vice-Presidents, Hugh Pagan, who as usual got it right when he wrote some years ago that Philip Grierson has more successfully combined the roles of historian, student of coinage and coin collector than any numismatist living and working in Britain in the past century and a half since the emergence of numismatics as an independent discipline.

When I wrote to Philip Grierson to tell him of the Society's intention he modestly expressed surprise as his contribution to the numismatics of the British Isles had been 'so marginal'. Yet when I looked through the *Journal*, I found an impressive number of papers and notes going back as far as the volume for 1949–51, ranging from the Anglo-Saxon period to the sixteenth century and demonstrating that astonishing breadth of learning that is his hallmark. For myself I well remember as a young man reading his paper on the origins of the English sovereign and being made vividly aware, perhaps for the first time in my life, of that deeper knowledge and understanding that comes from Philip Grierson's unrivalled ability to place the coins of this country in a wider European context.

The distinction of his career has naturally been recognised by many honours and awards, at home and abroad, and most recently, as many of you will know, by the award of the gold medal of the Society of Antiquaries. As long ago as 1958 he was the medallist of the Royal Numismatic Society, and in 1962 the recipient of the Huntington Medal of the American Numismatic Society. By delaying until now the presentation of our own medal we can at least point to the happy circumstance of being able to give it to him in the auspicious year which sees the fiftieth anniversary of his election to membership of our Society.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY, 1997

The President, Mr. G.P. Dyer, was in the chair at all meetings, which were held in the Warburg Institute.

28 JANUARY 1997. Messrs. M.C. Davenport, A.J. Keith, H. Al-Qazwini and G. Williams were elected to Ordinary Membership and the Numismatic Society of Ireland to Institutional Membership. Mr. Martin Allen read a paper entitled 'The Durham Mint in the fifteenth century'.

25 FEBRUARY 1997. Ms K.A. Bornholdt was elected to Ordinary Membership. Dr. Paul Stevens read a paper entitled 'The reformation of the coinage of Madras at the beginning of the nineteenth century'.

25 MARCH 1997. Messrs. M. Douglas and K. Peters were elected to Ordinary Membership and the Suffolk Archaeological Service to Institutional Membership. Dr. David Dykes read a paper entitled 'John Stubbs Jorden, die sinker, medallist and glasshouse manufacturer'.

22 APRIL 1997. Mr. Craig Barclay read a paper entitled 'A spark may yet remain: the medals of the Royal Humane Society'.

27 MAY 1997. Ms J.H. Hawthorne, Ms V. Hewitt and Messrs. C. Cheesman, T. Everson, I. Postlethwaite, L. Syson and J. Williams were elected to Ordinary Membership. The President presented a special striking of the Sanford Saltus Medal to Professor Philip Grierson in recognition of his great contribution to Numismatics. Dr. Paul Robinson read a paper entitled 'Folklore and Treasure Trove'.

24 JUNE 1997. Mr. D. Palmer was elected to Ordinary Membership. Mr. Kevin Clancy read a paper entitled 'The silver exchange of 1817'.

23 SEPTEMBER 1997. Messrs. D.A. Atchison, G.S.

Cos and R.G. Fleddermann were elected to Ordinary Membership. Professor Christopher Dyer delivered the fifth Linecar Lecture entitled 'Peasants and coins: the uses of money in the later Middle Ages'.

28 OCTOBER 1997. Messrs. S. Bendall, J. Cheek, G. Johnson and P. Skingley were elected to Ordinary Membership. Dr. Mark Blackburn read a paper entitled 'Lost money: interpreting Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman coin finds'.

25 NOVEMBER 1997. Mr. M. Waldron was elected to Ordinary Membership. The following officers and Council were elected for 1998:

<i>President:</i>	G.P. Dyer
<i>Vice Presidents:</i>	C.E. Challis, C.S.S. Lyon, P.D. Mitchell, H.E. Pagan, Lord Stewartby and P. Woodhead.
<i>Director:</i>	B.T. Curtis
<i>Treasurer:</i>	T.G. Webb Ware
<i>Librarian:</i>	A.J. Holmes
<i>Secretary:</i>	J.D. Bateson
<i>Council:</i>	M.J. Anderson, E.M. Besly, M.A.S. Blackburn, A.M. Burnett, J.A. Davies, D.W. Dykes, N.M. McQ. Holmes, M. Mays, J.L. Morton, P. Robinson, M. Sinclair, G. Williams and P.J. Wise.

Council's proposal that the subscriptions for 1998 should remain unchanged at £24 for Ordinary Members and £10 for Junior Members was approved.

The President, Mr. G.P. Dyer, then delivered his Presidential Address.



# AUDITOR'S REPORT

## TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BRITISH NUMISMATIC SOCIETY

I have audited the Balance Sheet and Income and Expenditure Account by reference to the books and records of the Society and supporting information and explanations.

In my opinion these financial statements are in accordance with those records and correctly show the state of the Society's Fund as at 31st October 1996 and of the Surplus of Income over Expenditure for the year ended on that date.

R.A. Merson, FCA  
Honorary Auditor

### Balance Sheet as at 31 October 1996

1995		1996	
£	£	£	£
GENERAL PURPOSES FUND			
31,082	Balance at 1st November 1995		31,262
(180)	Less: Excess of Expenditure over Income for the year		1,530
<u>£31,262</u>	<i>Surplus carried forward</i>		<u>£29,732</u>
<i>Represented by:</i>			
ASSETS			
160	Library and Furniture at cost less amounts written off		160
130	Stock of Medals		130
1,100	Sundry Debtors		1,205
	Cash at Bankers and in Hand		
134,000	Bank – Deposit Accounts	142,000	
3,714	Current Account	2,474	
<u>139,104</u>			<u>144,474</u>
			145,969
Less: LIABILITIES			
400	J. Sanford Saltus Medal Fund	400	
167	Schneider Research Fund	167	
8,720	Linecar Fund (Note 1)	9,189	
64,052	Osborne Fund (Note 2)	67,551	
8,038	Benefactors' Fund (Note 3)	8,300	
327	Subscriptions received in advance	240	
1,304	Sundry Creditors and Outstanding Charges	1,925	
24,834	Creditors and Provision for Journals	28,645	
<u>107,842</u>			<u>116,237</u>
<u>£31,262</u>			<u>£29,732</u>
1: <i>Linecar Fund</i>	£	2: <i>Osborne Fund</i>	£
Balance at 1.11.95	8,720	Balance at 1.11.95	64,052
Interest	469	Interest	3,443
		Brand Volume receipts	56
Balance at 31.10.96	<u>£9,189</u>	Balance at 31.10.96	<u>£67,551</u>
3: <i>Benefactors' Fund</i>	£		£
Balance at 1.11.95	8,038		
Interest	432		
Less: Birmingham Meeting	170		
Balance at 31.10.96	<u>£8,300</u>		



## AUDITOR'S REPORT

*Income and Expenditure Account  
for the year ended 31 October 1996*

1995			1996	
£	£		£	£
		INCOME		
		Subscriptions and Entrance		
		Fees received for 1996		
11,946		and earlier years		11,450
2,795		Interest received		3,113
68		Donations		38
		Sale of Publications :		
417		Backnumbers		539
97		Sale of BNS Medal		—
15,323				15,140
				<hr/>
		Less : EXPENDITURE		
	—	Sanford Saltus Medal		—
148		Printing, Postage and Stationery	673	
69		BNS Medal expenses	—	
200		Library – Purchases	100	
150		Binding	400	
402		Expenses	409	
404		Sundries		909
450		CCNB Newsletter		596
				472
				<hr/>
	1,823			2,650
		<i>British Numismatic Journal 66</i>		
13,400		Provision towards cost	12,975	
(80)		Add : Underprovision for prior Journals	1,045	
				<hr/>
				14,020
15,143				<hr/>
£ (180)		EXCESS OF EXPENDITURE OVER INCOME		16,670
				<hr/>
				£1,530
				<hr/>

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